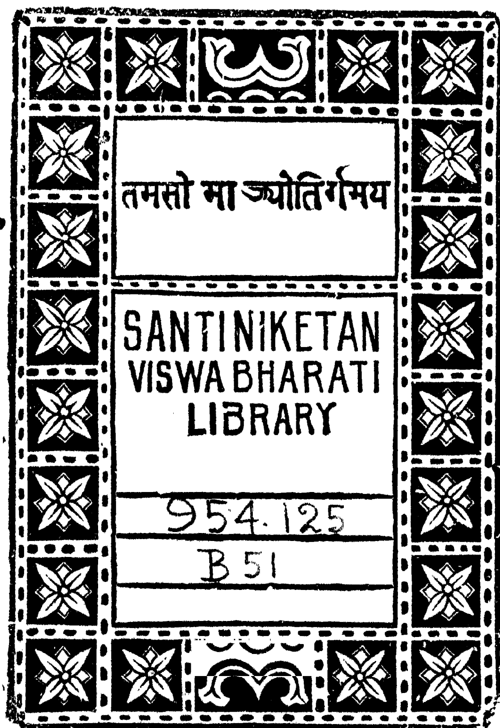


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INDIA AS DESCRIBED IN EARLY TEXTS OF BUDDHISM AND JAINISM

By

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Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Literature in the University of Lucknow

LUZAC & CO.,

43, Kailas Bose Street,

Calcutta,

1941

Printed by G. E. Bingham, Baptist Mission Press,
41A Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

PREFACE

The present treatise consists of five chapters dealing with Geography, Kings and Peoples, Social Life and Economic Conditions, Religion, and Education and Learning of Jambudvīpa (India). It is based on the early texts of the Buddhists and Jains, written in Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī. In my treatment, I have not ignored the evidence of Brahmanical literature, and wherever I have used it, I have done so with a view to clarify the relevant points. I have not failed to make use also of modern literature on the subject including my own publications. The sources utilised have been properly mentioned in the body as well as in the footnotes.

I have endeavoured to draw a picture of India with special reference to her peoples. The scheme adopted by me is in many respects different from that followed by Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India*, and the treatment even of common topics is fuller in the sense that I have all along taken into account the collateral evidence of the Jain *Āgama*. In Chapter I, a systematic geography of India has been attempted with the help of a first-hand study of all the available textual evidences bearing upon

mountain and river systems and the location and extent of countries, cities, etc. The second chapter has been devoted to the kings and peoples who were the active factors in the make-up of the life and civilisation of ancient India. The third chapter deals with the social life and economic conditions. Here the treatment is novel as showing how all the sections of the people played their part as much in social as in economic life. In the fourth chapter dealing with religion, the treatment may also be claimed as new in the sense that instead of taking religion as the source of inspiration for higher philosophy and ethics, I have sought to show how it was a living factor of ancient Indian civilisation. The last chapter treats of education and learning. Here my endeavour has been specially directed to the classification and description of various institutions and their founders, diverse movements and their promoters, together with the methods adopted and the results achieved. This kind of treatment, as far as my information goes, has not been attempted before.

The present treatise has been accepted as a thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Literature by the University of Lucknow.

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September, 1941.

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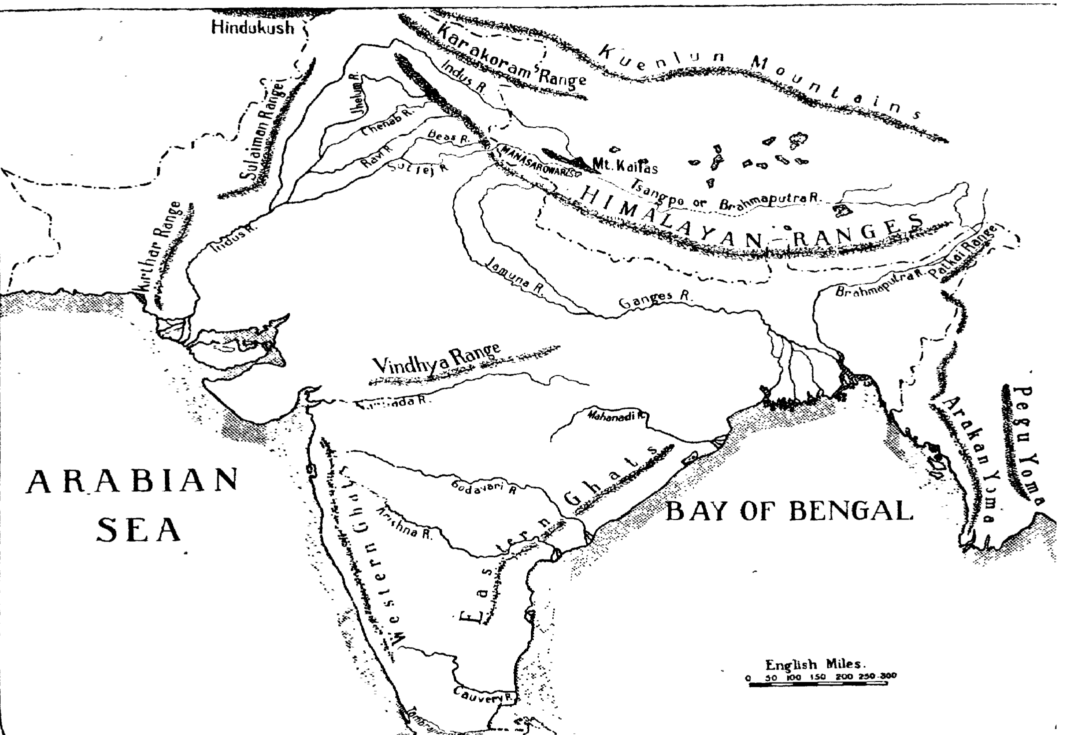
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Hindukush
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Kuenlun Mountains
Sulaiman Range
Kirthar Range
Indus R.
Jhelum R.
Chenab R.
Ravi R.
Beas R.
Sutlej R.
MANASAROWAR
Mt. Kailas
Tsangpo or Brahmaputra R.
HIMALAYAN RANGES
Patkai Range
Brahmaputra R.
Jamuna R.
Ganges R.
Vindhya Range
Mahanadi R.
Godavari R.
Krishna R.
Cauvery R.
Eastern Ghats
Western Ghats
Arakan Yoma
Pegu Yoma
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
English Miles.
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CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY

The country which is now known to us as India was known, to all intents and purposes, to the Buddhists as Jambudvīpa and to the Jains and the Brahmins as Bhāratavarṣa (Bharahavāsa). In the Purāṇas, Jambudvīpa is counted as one of the seven dvīpas or mythical continents into which the Earth, as then known or imagined, was divided. Bhāratavarṣa was just one of the nine varṣas or countries constituting the nine main divisions of Jambudvīpa. So far as the varṣa divisions of Jambudvīpa are concerned, the Jaina description of Jambudvīpa in the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti* and other works based upon it, is materially the same as found in the Purāṇas.[1] Thus with the Jainas and Brahmin writers Jambudvīpa as a continent was thought of as of much wider extension than Jambudvīpa as known to the Buddhists. In all earlier and later Buddhist texts and commentaries Jambudvīpa figures as one of the four mahādvīpas or great continents with Mt. Sineru (Sumeru) in the centre of them. The

[1] *Matsya Purāṇa*, 114, 85. The *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti* speaks of seven varṣas.

Pubbavideha or Eastern continent is placed to the east of Sineru, the Aparagodāna or Aparagoyāna—the Western continent to the west, the Uttarakuru or Northern continent to the north, and the Jambudvīpa or Southern continent to the south.

Even we are told that the land in Jambudvīpa where the people coming originally from Pubbavideha settled down, was named Videha after them; the land where the people coming from Aparagodāna settled down, became known by the name of Aparānta; and the land in which people from Uttarakuru settled down, became known under the name of Kuru.[1]

The Buddhist Sineru, also called Meru Sumeru, Hemameru and Mahāmeru, is the highest conceivable mountain which formed the centre of the earth. In the sea, it is based to a depth of eighty-four thousand yojanas, and above the sea level, it rises to the same height. The Yugandhara, the Īsadhara, the Karavīka, the Sudassana, the Nemindhara, the Vinataka and Assakaṇṇa are the seven mountain ranges that surround it. On its summit is Tāvatiṃsa, the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods, and at its foot is Asurabhavana, the domain of the demons. On its four sides are the four great continents,

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[1] *Papañcasūdanī* (Sinhalese ed.), i, p. 484; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* (Sinhalese ed.), ii, p. 482.

each containing several smaller ones.[1] The Buddhists as well as others in India treat Sineru as an emblem of long duration. Both its conception and description are semi-astronomical, semi-terrestrial, and, on the whole, mythical in their origin and character.

We get a slight realistic touch in the Purāṇas that locate the Sumeru mountain with its altitude of one hundred thousand yojanas at a central region of Ilāvṛtavarṣa, the country which, according to them, stands in the middle of the nine[2] varṣas of Jambudvīpa. To the south of Ilāvṛtavarṣa is the Niṣadha mountain range, and to the south of it is Harivarṣa, the country which lies just to the north of Bhāratavarṣa. In between the two is the Himalaya mountain with the Hemakūṭaparvata north of it. The Himalayan range extends east and west over a distance of about 1,600 yojanas. The topography of this range as it stands in relation to Bhāratavarṣa may be picturesquely represented by the shape of a bow with its string to the south (Himavān uttareṇāsya kārmukasya ṭhā guṇaḥ).[3] The *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, hich, like the Purāṇas, locates Harivarṣa to

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[1] *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 100f.; *Samantapāsādikā*, i, p. 119; *Visuddhi-magga*, p. 206; *Paramatthajotikā*, II, pp. 443, 485; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 217.

[2] Seven, according to *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*.

[3] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Dvīpavarṣa-varṇanā-skandha, Ch. xix.

the north of Bhāratavarṣa and the Himalaya mountain, divides the Himalayan range into two, the Mahāhimavanta or Greater Himalayan and the Cullahimavanta or Lesser Himalayan. The former extends eastwards up to the eastern sea, i.e., the Bay of Bengal, and the latter westwards and then southwards up to the sea below the Varṣadhara mountain, i.e., the Arabian sea.[1]

The topographical outline of India to the south of the Himalayas is sought to be pictured in the Pali Mahāgovinda-suttanta in the shape of a bullock-cart with its face towards the south. Accordingly it is described as extended on the north.[2] The symbol suggested in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* for visualisation of the surface of India is one of the convex shape of the upper shell of a tortoise (kūrmapṛṣṭha).[3] It is obviously a very correct picture of the thing, inasmuch as all the rivers of India either flow eastwards into the Bay of Bengal or flow westwards into the Arabian sea. Further, according to the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, the Vaitāḍhya (Vindhya ?) mountain range divides

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[1] *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, i, 9: Bharahe ṇāmaṃ vāse . . . Cullahimavaṃtassa vāsaharapavvayassa dāhiṇenaṃ dāhiṇalavaṇasamuddassa uttareṇam, puratthimalavaṇasamuddassa paccatthimeṇaṃ . . . The same extension of the range is implied in the *Milinda*, p. 114.

[2] *Dīgha*, II, p. 235: uttarena āyatam, dakkhiṇena sakaṭa-mukhaṃ.

[3] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Chaps. 57 and 58.

India into two halves, the northern half (uttarārdha), later called Āryāvarta, and the southern half (dakṣiṇārdha), later called Dākṣinātya or Deccan.[1]

The Himalaya mountain is known in Pali by such names as Himavā, Himācala, and Himavanta. It is one of the seven mountain ranges that surround Gandhamādana.[2] According to traditional description, it extends over a distance of three hundred thousand yojanas (leagues),[3] and contains eighty-four thousand peaks (kūṭas), the highest of them being five hundred leagues.[4] Here the length, the number and the altitude given are all evidently fabulous. We have mention of seven great Himalayan lakes: Anotatta, Kaṇṇamuṇḍa, Rathakāra, Chaddanta, Kuṇāla, Mandākinī and Sīhappapātaka, that are never heated by the sun.[4] Each of them is fifty leagues in length, breadth and depth.[5] Their names are such as to defy all attempts at a correct identification, and the description of their length, breadth and depth is too symmetrical to inspire confidence. The Kuṇāla

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[1] *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, i, 12: Bharahe vāse Veyaddhe ṇāmaṃ pavvaye paṇṇatte: uttaraddha-Bharahavāsassa dāhiṇeṇaṃ dāhiṇa-bharahavāsassa uttareṇam.

[2] *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 66; Malalasekera, *Dict. of Pali Proper Names*, ii, p. 1325.

[3] *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 224.

[4, 5] *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 101; *Manorathapūraṇī*, ii, p. 759; *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 443.

Jātaka mentions by name Maṇipabbata, Hiṅgulapabbata, Añjanapabbata, Sānupabbata, and Phaḷikapabbata among the Himalayan peaks,[1] none of which can now be satisfactorily identified. The *Sutta-nipāta* commentary speaks of some five hundred rivers,[2] only ten of which were to be reckoned, according to the *Milinda*,[3] the rest having an intermittent periodical flow. Of the ten rivers,[4] the first five, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū and Mahī that were honoured as the five great rivers (pañca mahānadiyo)[5] constituted the Ganges group, and the rest, Sindhu, Sarassatī, Vettavatī, Vitaṃsā and Candabhāgā, with the exception of the second, constituted the Sindhu group. Broadly speaking, the first five flowed from the Jaina Mahāhimavanta, and the other five from the Lesser range.

The Kuṇāla Jātaka draws our attention to two most delightful spots in the shape of rocky table-lands (silātala), one, called Suvaṇṇatala, on the east side of Himavanta, and the other, called Hiṅgulatala, on the west side, the latter being sixty leagues in extent.[6] Similarly the

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1 *Jātaka*, v, p. 415.

2 *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 437.

3 *Milinda*, p. 114.

4 Cf. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57, 16–18.

5 *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 101; *Vin.*, ii, p. 237; *Saṃyutta*, ii, p. 135; v, p. 401.

6 *Jātaka*, v, p. 415.

Milinda-pañhā mentions one Rakkhitatala or protected table-land in the Himalayan region.[1]

The Buddhists derive the name of the continent of Jambudvīpa from a Jambu tree, which stands as its kalpavṛkṣa, with its trunk fifteen yojanas in girth, outspreading branches fifty yojanas in length, shade one hundred yojanas in extent and height of one hundred yojanas,[2]—all too symmetrical and imaginary to be believed as correct. It is on account of this tree that the continent is also called Jambuvana [3] and Jambusaṇḍa.[4] The tree stands on a bank of the river Jambo (Jambu). The continent extends over a distance of ten thousand leagues, of which four thousand are covered by the seas, three thousand by the Himalayas, and three thousand only are inhabited by men.[5] It contained as many as 84,000 towns, large or small.[6] As Malalasekera points out, 'this number is sometimes reduced to sixty thousand, forty thousand, or even twenty thousand, but never too less'.[7] A description in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* would have us believe that trifling in number were the parks, groves,

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1 *Milinda*, p. 6.

2 *Vinaya*, i, p. 30; *Samantapāsādikā*, i, p. 119; *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 443; *Visuddhimagga*, i, p. 205.

3 Law, *Geography*, p. xvi.

4 *Sutta-nipāta*, verse 552; *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 121.

5 *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 437.

6 *Ibid.*, II, p. 59. Cf. *Jātaka*, iv, p. 84.

7 Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, i, p. 941.

lakes, etc., in Jambudvīpa, while more numerous were the steep, precipitous places, unfordable rivers, inaccessible mountains, and the rest.[1]

In accordance with the description in the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, the Bhāratavarṣa which is situated to the south of the Himalayas and between the eastern and western seas, abounds in prickly stumps and thorns, uneven and inaccessible roads, hills and dales, fountains and springs, *khaṭṭās*, crevices, rivers and lakes, trees, creepers and shrubs, forests and grasses, thieves, *ḍimbas* and ḍamaras, famines and bad times, religious sects, the poor and destitute, emergencies and epidemics, wicked persons, drought, diseases, iniquities and constant commotions. It appears from the north like a bedstead, and from the south, like a bow (*uttarāo paliaṃka-saṃṭhāṇa-saṃṭhie, dāhiṇāo dhaṇupiṭṭha-saṃṭhie*). By the two large rivers, Gaṅgā and Sindhu, and the Vaitāḍhya mountain range it is divided into six portions (chabbhāga-pavibhatte). It is $526\frac{6}{19}$ leagues in extent.[2]

As for the number and location of the dvīpas, the Pali account may be shown to have followed the same tradition as that in the *Mahābhārata* which, too, speaks of just four great continents and locates them on four sides of the golden mountain of Meru or Sumeru. The continent

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[1] *Aṅguttara*, i, p. 35; Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, i, p. 941.

[2] *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, i, 9.

on the west side is, however, called Ketumāla instead of Aparagodāna, and that on the east side, Bhadrāśva instead of Pubbavideha. The continent on the north side is called Uttarakuru, precisely as in Pali.[1] To the north of Harivarṣa and in between the two mountain ranges of Nīla (on the north) and Niṣadha (on the south) lie two other ranges, the eastern, called Mālyavat, and the western, called Gandhamādana. Encircling the space between them stands the Meru mountain.[2] As in Pali texts, the *Jambudīvapaṇṇatti* and the Purāṇas, so in the Great Epic the name of Jambudvīpa is derived from a mighty Jambu tree, called Sudarśana, which, too, is located in a spot between the two ranges of Nīla and Niṣadha.[3] The origin of the Jambu river is accounted for, exactly as in Pali texts, by an accumulated flow of the juice of rose-apples that grow on that Jambu tree.[4]

The *Mahābhārata* agrees with the *Jambudīvapaṇṇatti* and the Purāṇas when it speaks of six varṣaparvatas in Jambudvīpa. These are: Himavān, Hemakūṭa, Niṣadha, Nīla, Śveta and Śṛṅgavān, enumerated from south to north, each forming a long range from sea to sea or ocean to ocean.[5] Bhāratavarṣa is, of course, placed to

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1 *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparva, 6.12, 13; 7.13; 6.31; 7.13, 14.

2 *Ibid.*, 6.9, 10.

3 *Ibid.*, 7.19, 20.

4 *Ibid.*, 7.22–26.

5 *Ibid.*, 6.3–5.

the south of the first. It also speaks of seven divyagaṅgās or celestial rivers: Nalinī, Pāvanī, Sarasvatī, Jambu, Sītā, Gaṅgā and Sindhu.[1] The origin of Gaṅgā is traced to a lake called Bindusara, which is situated in the middle of three peaks, Kailāsa, Maināka and Hiraṇyaśṛṅga.[2] The *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti* connects the origin of Gaṅgā with a flow through the eastern outlet of a great lake in the Lesser Himalayan range, called Mahāpadmahrada, and that of Sindhu with a flow through its western outlet. It speaks of a similar lake in the Greater Himalayan range. The description of the lake with four *toraṇas* or outlets is akin to the Buddhist account of the lake Anotatta, to which it refers the origin of the five great rivers flowing eastwards. Anotatta, too, is like the Jaina Padmahrada, a lotus lake with four *mukhas* (outlets) on its four sides, from each of which flows a river. Beginning from the east, the outlets are called Sīhamukha (the Lion face), Hatthimukha (the Elephant face), Assamukha (the Horse face), and Usabhamukha (the Bull face).[3] The four rivers that flow, according to the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, from the four outlets of the Lotus lake are, Gaṅgā, Rohitā, Sindhu and Harikāntā.[4]

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1 *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparva, 6.49, 50.

2 *Ibid.*, 6.43, 44.

3 *Papañcasūdanī*, ii, p. 586.

4 *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, iv, 34, 35.

The long description in the Pali commentaries[1] of the origin of five rivers, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū and Mahī from the Anotatta lake may be best summed up in the words of Dr. Malalasekera: the river which flows out through the south channel 'circles the lake three times under the name of Āvaṭṭagaṅgā, then as Kaṇhagaṅgā flows straight for sixty leagues along the surface of a rock, comes into violent contact with a vertical rock, and is thrown upwards as a column of water three *gāvutas* in circumference; this column, known as *Ākāsagaṅgā*, flows through the air for sixty leagues, falls on to the rock Tiyaggala, excavating it to a depth of fifty leagues, thus forming a lake which is called Tiyaggalapokkharaṇī; then the river, under the name of Bahalagaṅgā, flows through a chasm in the rock for sixty leagues, then under the name of Ummaggagaṅgā,[2] through a tunnel for a further sixty leagues, and finally coming upon the oblique rock jha, divides into five streams forming the e rivers'.[3]

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[1] *Papañcasūdanī*, Sinhalese ed., ii, p. 586; *Manorathapūraṇī*, pp. 759-60; *Paramatthajotikā*, II, pp. 437–9.

[2] The Ājīvikas cherished a tradition of seven Gaṅgā which they ew as Gaṅgā, Mahāgaṅgā (perhaps, Gaṅgā proper), Svādhīnagaṅgā, dugaṅgā, Lohitagaṅgā (evidently Lauhitya or Brahmaputra), antīgaṅgā (evidently Avantī), and Paramāvantīgaṅgā. Cf ckhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 253.

[3] Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 733-34.

A similar account of the origin and course of Gaṅgā and Sindhu is presented in the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*. But what is really important in it is the suggestion that thousands of other rivers fall into the Ganges through which they enter the eastern sea,[1] not directly. The same as to the Indus.

The identification of the Pali Anotatta lake with the Bindusara in the *Mahābhārata* and the Mānas-sarovara of popular fame may be justified by the fact that, like the latter, the former is associated with Kelāsa or Kailāsa. In Pali commentaries it is said to be enclosed by five Himalayan peaks, known as Sudassanakūṭa, Citrakūṭa, Kālakūṭa, Gandhamādana and Kelāsa.[2]

In the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti* we have mention of eight peaks (kūṭas) of the Greater Himalayan range, of eleven of the Lesser range, and of nine of the Vaitāḍhya range which divides India into two halves: Āryāvarta and Dākṣiṇātya. The eight Mahāhimavanta kūṭas are Sidd[illegible] tana, Mahāhimavadadhiṣṭhātṛ, Haimavata[illegible] Rohitanadisurī, Hrīsurī, Harikāntānadīs[illegible] Harivarṣapati and Vaidūrya.[3] The elev[illegible]

[1] *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, iv, 34: puratthābhimuhi āvattāsamā coddasahiṃ salilasahassehi samaggā aho jagaiṃ dālaittā puratthir eṇaṃ lavaṇasamuddaṃ samappei.

[2] *Papañcasūdanī*, ii, p. 585; *Manorathapūraṇī*, ii, p. 759.

[3] *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, iv, 80.

connected with the Lesser range comprise Siddhāyatana, Kṣudrahimavadgiri, Kumāra-deva, etc.[1] The list of nine peaks associated with the Vaitāḍhya range begins with Siddhāyatana and ends in Tamisrāguhā.[2] The names are too ingeniously Jaina to be considered genuine and identifiable.

True that in it, precisely as in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Bhāratavarṣa is described as a peninsula with seas on its three sides, east, south and west.[3] But is it not somewhat far-fetched to represent the topographical outline of the Deccan figuratively by the shape of a half-moon (*addhacaṃdasaṃṭhāṇa-saṃthie*)? To the Buddhists, as we saw, Jambudvīpa is shaped like a bullock-cart with its face towards the south. In the Great Epic the shape is poetically conceived as one resembling, from south and north, a bended bow of which the string being pulled by the hand forms an apex at Dhanuṣkoṭi, Rāmasetu or Rāmesvaram.[4] In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* the shape of India, according to one description, is like that of a tortoise (kūrma) which lies outspread, with its face towards the east,[5] and,

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1 *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, iv, 35.

2 *Ibid.*, i, 12.

3 *Ibid.*, i, 10.

4 *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparva, 6.38.

5 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Chaps. 57-58.

according to another, like that of a peninsula with the Himalayan range stretching along on its north, like the string of a bow.[1] According to Hiuen Tsang, the north part is broad, the southern part narrow. As in the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, he describes its shape as one like that of a half-moon.[2] All these images are suggestive, though only approximately accurate.

In agreement with the Great Epic [3] and the Purāṇas, the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti* derives the name of Bhāratavarṣa from king Bharata whose sovereignty was established over it. It speaks of six divisions (*bhedā*, *khaṇḍā*) in Northern India, and of three divisions in Southern, Eastern, Western and Middle. These are all internal divisions of India proper. The nine *bhedas* or parts of Varāhamihira conforming, as they do, to the centre and eight of the ten points of the compass: eastern, southern, western, northern, south-eastern, south-western, north-western and north-eastern (also suggested by the Jainas), are all internal. The nine *bhedas* or *khaṇḍas* mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* (iii, 41), and somewhat differently enumerated in the *Vāmana* and *Garuḍa Purāṇas* so as to count Kaṭāha and

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[1] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Chap. 57: Dakṣiṇe parato hyasya pūrveṇa cha mahodadhiḥ Himavān uttareṇāsya kārmūkasya yathā guṇaḥ.

[2] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, i, p. 70.

[3] *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparva, iii, 41.

Siṃhala dvīpas among them, were all internal even as they were explained to Alberuni and Abul Fazl. But reading between the lines, one may find that the *Mārkaṇḍeya* description hardly leaves room for doubt that only the ninth of nine dvīpas constituting the Bhāratavarṣa, elsewhere called Kumāra, Kumārī or Kumārika, was the India proper.[1] The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* gives it a length of one thousand yojanas from south to north.

Like Bhāratavarṣa in the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*,[2] Jambudvīpa in Pali texts is described as the kingdom of a king overlord (cakkavattī).[3] Accordingly Jambudvīpa finds mention in Pali as the continent over the whole of which the sovereignty (ekarajjābhisekaṃ) of Dhammāsoka prevailed.[4] In Aśoka's own description Jambudvīpa, which was somewhat wider than his own kingdom (vijita), was certainly the whole of India where he succeeded in creating a sphere of righteousness. He gives it a length of six hundred leagues.[5]

As for countries and peoples (janapadā), the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* introduces them, adopting

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1 Law, *Geographical Essays*, p. 120f.

2 *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, iii, 41: Bharahe vāse . . . . Bharahe ṇāmaṃ rāyā cāuraṃta cakkavattī samuppajjitthā.

3 *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 90: Cakkavattī ahuṃ rājā Jambusaṇḍassa issaro.

4 *Samantapāsādikā*, i, p. 41.

5 *M.R.E.* and *R.E.* XIII.

the following system of classification: (1) those belonging to Madhyadeśa (Middle country); (2) those to Udīcya (Northern region); (3) those to Prācya (Eastern India); (4) those to Dakṣiṇāpatha or Dākṣiṇātya (Deccan); (5) those to Aparānta (Western India); (6) those to the Vindhya region (Vindhya or Vindhyapṛṣṭha); and (7) those which are mountainous (parvatāśrayī).[1] These may be shown to have been a result of further systematisation from the *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 9, in which the divisions Prācya, Udīcya, Dakṣiṇa, Aparānta and Pārvatīya are distinctly mentioned, and the remaining two are implied. The five traditional divisions of India, as met with in Hiuen Tsang's Si-yu-ki and the Bhuvanakoṣa of the Purāṇas are: as enumerated in the former—northern, southern, eastern, western and central[2]; and as in the latter—Madhyadeśa (Middle country), Udīcya (Northern), Prācya (Eastern), Dakṣiṇāpatha (Deccan) and Aparānta (Western).[3] Rājaśekhara, in his *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā*, offers the following description of them:

'Tatra Bārāṇasyā parataḥ Pūrvadeśaḥ
Māhīṣmatyā parataḥ Dakṣiṇāpathaḥ
Devasabhāyā parataḥ Pascāddesaḥ
Pṛthudakāt parataḥ Uttarāpathaḥ

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1 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Chap. 57.

2 Beal, *Records*, i, p. 70; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 136.

3 Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. xx.

Vinaśanaprayāgayoḥ Gaṅgā-Yamunayośca antaraṃ Antaravedī.'[1]

'To the east of Benares is the Eastern India. To the south of Māhiṣmatī is the Deccan. To the west of Devasabhā is the Western India. To the north (better, north-west) is the Northern (better, North-western) India. And the tract lying between Vinaśana and Prayāga and between the Ganges and the Jumna is the Inland (same as Midland or Middle country of other texts).'

Cunningham elucidates the geographical significance of Hiuen Tsang's 'Five Indies' in the following manner:

(1) Northern India comprises the Punjab proper including Kashmir and the adjoining hill States with the whole of eastern Afghanistan beyond the Indus and the present Cis-Sutlej States to the west of the Saraswatī river;

(2) Western India, Sind and Western Rajputana with Cutch and Gujrat and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of Narmadā river;

(3) Central India, the whole of the Gangetic provinces from Thaneswar to the head of the Delta and from the Himalayan mountains to the banks of the Narmadā;

[1] *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā*, p. 93.

(4) Eastern India, Assam and Bengal proper including the whole of the Gangetic Delta together with Sambalpur, Orissa and Ganjam; and

(5) Southern India, the whole of the peninsula from Nasik on the west and Ganjam on the east to Cape Comorin on the south including the modern districts of Berar and Telingana, Mahārāṣṭra and the Konkan with the separate States of Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore or very nearly the whole of the peninsula to the south of the Narmadā and the Mahānadī rivers.

The broad divisions of India, met with in early Pali texts, are rather six than five. These are: (1) Majjhimadesa (i.e. Madhyadeśa or Middle Country);[1] (2) Hemavata or Himavanta (Himalayan region);[2] (3) Uttarāpatha (North-western region);[3] (4) Dakkhiṇāpatha or Dakkhiṇā janapadā (i.e. Dākṣiṇātya or Deccan);[4] (5) Pubbanta (Eastern India); and (6) Aparānta (Western India).

The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* mentions the following sixteen as Mahājanapadas among the countries

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1 *Vinaya*, i, p. 197; *Jātaka*, i, pp. 49–80.

2 *Mahāvaṃsa*, xii, 41; generally called Himavantapadesa in several Jātakas.

3 *Vinaya*, iii, p. 6; *Samantapāsādikā*, i, p. 175; *Jātaka*, ii, p. 277; iv, 79; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 470; *Mahāvastu*, iii, p. 303; *Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, p. 100; *Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā*, i, p. 339.

4 *Sutta-nipāta*, verse 976; *Vinaya*, i, pp. 195-6; ii, p. 298; *Jātaka*, iii, p. 463; v, p. 133; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 265.

in Jambudvīpa: Kāsī, Kosala, Aṅga, Magadha, Vajjī, Malla, Cetī, Vaṃsa, Kuru, Pañcāla, Maccha, Sūrasena, Assaka, Avantī, Gandhāra and Kamboja,[1] each named after the people who settled down there or colonised it. As noted by Dr. Malalasekera,[2] the first fourteen are included in the Majjhimadesa,[3] and the last two in Uttarāpatha. The *Dīgha Nikāya* gives a list of twelve only, omitting the last four, while the *Cullaniddesa* adds Kaliṅga to the list and substitutes Yona for the Gandhāra. The Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (otherwise called *Vyākhyā-prajñapti*) gives a somewhat different list of sixteen containing Aṅga, Baṅga (Vaṅga), Magadha, Malaya, Mālava, Accha, Vaccha (Pali Vaṃsa), Koccha, Pāḍha (?), Lāḍha (Rāḍha), Bajjī (Pali Vajjī), Moli (Malla ?), Kāsī, Kosala, Avaha (?), and Sambhuttara (?).

A short description of each of the six divisions, as made out from Pali, taking along with it the principal kingdoms, cities, towns, rivers, peoples, etc., is found indispensable in the present chapter. To begin with—

I Middle country (Madhyadeśa): Madhyadeśa has been described in the *Dharmasūtra*

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[1] *Aṅguttara*, i, p. 213; iv, pp. 252, 256, 260.

[2] Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 494.

[3] According to *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Chaps. 57, 32–35), the countries in Madhyadeśa were Matsya, Kuśula, Kulya, Kuntala, Kāśi, Kośala, Arvuda, Pulinda, Samaka, Vṛka and Govardhanapura. It refers Avantī to Aparānta.

of Baudhāyana as lying to the east of the region where the river Saraswatī disappears, to the west of the Black forest (Kālakavana),[1] to the north of the Pāripātra mountain and to the south of the Himalayas.[2] The eastern boundary excluded not only the country now known as Bengal but Behar which in ancient days included the whole of Magadhan country, the Buddhist land *par excellence.* According to Manu, Madhyadeśa extends from the Himalayas in the north to the Vindhyas in the south and from Vinaśana (the place where the river Saraswatī disappears) in the west to Prayāg in the east.[3] It is otherwise known as Antaravedī or Inland which extends up to Benares in the east.[4] The Buddhist writer would extend the boundary of Madhyadeśa farther towards the east so as to include Aṅga and Magadha. According to the *Mahāvagga*[5] of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, it extends in the east to the town of Kajaṅgala[6] beyond which was the city

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[1] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, li and xli, f.n. 1.

[2] *Baudhāyana*, i, 1, 2, 9, etc.

[3] *Manu*, ii, 21: 'Himavad-vindhyayor madhye yat prāg vimaśanādapipratyageva Prayāgāc ca Madhyadeśaḥ prakīrttitaḥ'.

[4] *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā*, p. 93. The same extension is implied also in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.

[5] Vol. V, pp. 12-13.

[6] Identical with Ka-chu-wen-kilo of Yuan Chwang which lay at a distance of above 400 *li* east from Campā (Bhagalpur). Cf. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, ii, 429, as to Kajaṅgala forming the eastern boundary of the Madhyadeśa. Also see *Jāt.*, iii, 226-7; iv, 310.

of Mahāsāla; in the south-east, to the river Salaḷavatī (Sarāvatī); in the south, to the town of Setakaṇṇika; in the west, to the Brahman district of Thūṇa;[1] and in the north, to the Usīradhvaja mountain.[2] The *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 21-22) extends its eastern boundary still farther so as to include Puṇḍavardhana which in ancient times included Varendra (roughly identical with North Bengal). It is 300 yojanas in length, 250 yojanas in breadth and 900 yojanas in circuit.[3]

Thus it may be shown that the definition of the Middle country was not the same at all times and with all the authorities. In *Manu*, ii, 19, Kurukṣetra, Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena are included in Brahmarṣideśa, while the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* includes them in Madhyadeśa. Manu's Middle country is a tract between Vinaśana and Prayāga, while in the above Purāṇa and the *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā* it extends so far east as to include Kāśī and Kośala. The Pali list of six principal cities in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta (*Dīgha*, ii, p. 146): Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthī, Sāketa, Kosambī and Bārāṇasī, suggests an extension which included

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[1] Consult Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*. Introd. xliii, f.n. 2, as to the identification of Thūṇa with Sthānesvara: also see *Jāt.*, vi, 62.

[2] It may be said to be identical with Usiragiri, a mountain to the north of Kaṅkhal, *I.A.*, 1905, 179.

[3] *JRAS.*, 1904, p. 86.

Kāśī, Kośala and Vatsa in the west but excluded Avantī and Śūrasena. These two countries have been expressly excluded in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* from the Middle country. Dr. Malalasekera has not cited any Pali authority justifying their inclusion in the Majjhimadesa.

The seven representative rivers of this division are enumerated in one list as Bāhukā (Bahukā),[1] Adhikakkā, Gayā, Sundarikā, Sarassatī, Payāgā and Bāhumatī, and in another list as Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarabhū, Sarassatī, Aciravatī, Mahī and Mahānadī.[2] The *Jātaka* mentions the Doṇa and Timbaru along with the Bāhukā and Gayā.[3] Here Bāhukā is evidently the same river as Vāhudā in the *Mahābhārata*,[4] which the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* connects with the Himalayas along with Gaṅgā and Yamunā.[5] The Adhikakkā remains yet to be identified. The Gayā is no other than the Phalgu forming just a united flow of the Nerañjarā (Nairañjanā) of Buddhist fame and the Mahānadī (Mohānā of Brahmanical fame).[6] The Sundarikā was a sacred river in Kośala.[6] The Sarassatī is identified with the famous Saraśvatī which taking its rise in the Himalayas, disappears at

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1 *Jātaka*, v, p. 389.

2 *Visuddhimagga*, i, p. 10.

3 *Jātaka*, v, p. 388f.

4 *Mahābhārata*, iii, 84.67.

5 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Chap. 57.

6 Barua, *Gayā and Buddhagayā*, i, p. 87f.

Vinaśana. The Payāgā must have represented the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā at Prayāga (Allahabad).[1] The Gaṅgā and Yamunā do not need much comment. The Bhāgīrathī Gaṅgā flowed through Pañchāla dividing it into Uttara (Northern) and Dakṣiṇa (Southern), Kampilla, the capital of the latter standing on its right bank. The Yamunā served as a boundary between Śūrasena and Kośala and further down, between Vaṃsa (Vatsa) and Kośala, Madhura, the capital of Śūrasena and Kosambī, the capital of Vaṃsa standing on its right bank. The Sarabhū is to be identified with the Sarayū in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, on the left bank of which stood and still stands Ayodhyā, the ancient capital of Kośala (Uttara Kośala). The Aciravatī is modern Rāpti on the right bank of which stood Sāvatthī (Śrāvastī), the third or last capital of Kośala.[2] The Mahī (Mahāmahī Gaṅgā) is a tributary of the Ganges; a river of this name is associated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* with the Pāripātra range.[3] The Bāhumatī, Doṇa and Timbaru are still to be identified.

The Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra* and the Pali *Manorathapūraṇī*[4] speak of a certain Mahāgaṅgā

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[1] Barua, *op. cit.*, i, p. 87.

[2] Law, *Śrāvastī in Indian Literature*, p. 9.

[3] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Chap. 57.

[4] *Manorathapūraṇī* (Sinhalese ed.), ii, p. 761f.

which was either the confluence of the Nerañjarā and the Mahānadī or the river Soṇa.[1] To the east beyond Prayāga the united flow of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā bore the name of Gaṅgā. It is this Gaṅgā which formed a boundary between kingdoms of Kāśī and Magadha. Bārāṇasī, the capital of Kāśī, stood on its left bank. Further down it formed a boundary between Videha and Vesālī on the north and Magadha,[2] Aṅga and Kajaṅgala on the south, on the right bank of which stood and still stand Pāṭaliputta, the second or last capital of Magadha and Campā, the capital of Aṅga. In the early Pali texts we have mention of three other rivers in Madhyadeśa that were of minor importance: Anomā, Rohiṇī and Kakutthā. The first was a river thirty leagues to the east of Kapilavatthu[3] which obviously formed a boundary between the territory of the Śākyas and that of the Mallas. According to the *Lalitavistara*, however, the distance of the river from the Śākya capital was six leagues only.[4] The second, Rohiṇī, was a small river which divided the Sakyan and Koliyan territories.[5] Cunningham identifies it with the modern Rowai

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1 *Manorathapūraṇī* (Sinhalese ed.), ii, p. 761f.

2 *Majjhima*, I, *Vatthūpamasutta*.

3 *Jātaka*, i, p. 64f.; *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 382; Malalasekera *op. cit.*, i, p. 102.

4 *Lalitavistara*, ed. Lefmann.

5 *Jātaka*, v, p. 412; *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 358.

or Rohwaini, a small stream which joins the Rapti at Gorakhpur.[1] According to Dhammapāla, it flowed from north to south to the north-west of Rājagaha.[2] And the third, Kakutthā, was a river near Kusīnārā [3] which appears to have formed, at one point at least, a boundary between the two Malla territories. Other rivers mentioned are: Campā, Kosikī, Migasammatā, Hiraññavatī, Sappinī, Sutanu, Salaḷavatī and Vettavatī. Of them, the Campā formed a boundary between Aṅga in the east and Magadha in the west.[4] It is probably the same river as one to the west of Campānagar and Nāthnagar in the suburb of the town of Bhagalpur. The Kosikī, modern Kuśī, is just a branch of the Ganges.[5] The Migasammatā was a river which rising in the Himalayas flowed into the Ganges.[6] The Hiraññavatī is the Little Gandak and the same as Ajitavati near Kusīnārā which flows through the district of Gorakhpur about eight miles west of the Great Gandak and falls into the Ghogrā (Sarayū). On the bank of it once stood the *Sal* forest of the Mallas of Kusīnārā.[7]

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[1] *Arch. Surv. of India*, xii, p. 190f.

[2] *Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā*, i, p. 501; Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 762.

[3] *Dīgha*, ii, pp. 129, 134f.; *Udāna*, viii, 5.

[4] *Jātaka*, iv, p. 454.

[5] *Ibid.*, v, pp. 2, 5, 6. The river is called Kosikā and Kosikigaṅgā.

[6] *Ibid.*, vi, p. 72.

[7] *Dīgha*, ii, p. 137.

The Sappinī, modern Pañcāna, was a small stream at Rājagaha.[1] Similarly Sutanu was a small stream at Sāvatthī[2] which must have fallen into the Aciravatī. The Salaḷavatī (Sarāvatī in the *Divyāvadāna*, better Saraṇavatī), probably modern Suvarṇarekhā, formed, as we saw, the south-east boundary of the Middle country. And the Vettavatī, modern Betwa in Bhopal, is an affluent of the Yamunā on the bank of which stood the city of Vetravatī, and farther south-west, stands Bhilsā or ancient Vidisā.[3]

As regards the hills, mention is frequently made of Gayāsīsa, the principal hill of Gayā,[4] which is the modern Brahmayoni and identical with what is called Gayaśira in the *Mahābhārata*[5] and Gayāśira in the Purāṇas.[6] The Pali commentaries account for the origin of its name by the striking resemblance of its shape with that of the head of an elephant (gajasīsa).[7] The *Mahābhārata* speaks of twenty-five hills of Gayā including the Gayaśira, but the early texts of Buddhism ignore all but the Gayāsīsa. The hills called Prāgbodhi by Hiuen Tsang[8] on the

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1 *Aṅguttara*, ii, p. 29.

2 *Saṃyutta*, v, p. 297.

3 *Jātaka*, iv, p. 388.

4 *Vinaya*, i, p. 34f.; ii, p. 199.

5 *Mahābhārata*, iii, 95.9; Barua, *op. cit.*, i, p. 74.

6 Barua, *op. cit.*, i, p. 68.

7 *Sāratthappakāsinī*, iii, 4.

8 Beal, *Buddhist Records*, ii, p. 114.

other side of the Gayā river are vaguely referred to but nowhere mentioned by name.

In the Barābar Hill-Cave inscriptions of Aśoka and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*[1] we have mention of a set of hills under the name of Khalatika. The same finds mention in the *Mahābhārata*, the Hāthigumphā and two other inscriptions as Gorathagiri or Goradhagiri from which one could have a view of Rājagaha or Giribbaja,[2] the earlier capital of Magadha. This group of hills came to be designated in some of the mediæval inscriptions as Pravaragiri which has given rise to the modern name Barābar.

The Pali Isigili Sutta names the five hills surrounding the city of Rājagaha, taking them in the very order in which they stood to each other and beginning with Isigili: Isigili, Vebhāra, Paṇḍava, Vepulla and Gijjhakūṭa.[3] In the Theragāthā, verse 41, the Vebhāra and Paṇḍava are mentioned as two hills that stood side by side. The canonical order of the five names was changed in the commentaries, one of them enumerating them as Paṇḍava, Gijjhakūṭa, Vebhāra, Isigili and Vepulla,[4] and another as Isigili, Vepulla, Vebhāra, Paṇḍava and Gijjhakūṭa.[5] The *Mahābhārata* contains two lists, one

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1 *Mahābhāṣya*, i, 2.2.

2 *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, Ch. xx, v, 30.

3 *Majjhima*, iii, p. 68f.

4 *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 382.

5 *Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, p. 82.

naming the five hills as Vaihāràvipula, Vārāha, Vṛṣabha, Ṛṣigiri and Subhacaityaka,[1] and the other as Pāṇḍara, Vipula, Vārāha, Caityaka and Mātaṅga.[2] A comparison of the two lists may show that Vipula is the same name as Vaihāravipula, Caityaka is identical with Subhacaityaka, and Vṛṣabha and Mātaṅga are substituted respectively for Pāṇḍara (= Pali Paṇḍava) and Ṛṣigiri (= Pali Isigili), the name Vārāha being common to both the lists.[3] By the name Caityaka or Subhacaityaka may have been meant no other hill than the Buddhist Gijjhakūṭa or Gṛdhrakūṭa.

The Jainas following a much later tradition of their own name locate the seven hills thus: 'If one enters Rajgir from the north, the hill which lies to the right is Vaibhāragiri; that which lies to the left is Vipulaparvata or Vipulagiri; the one which stands at right angles to the Vipula and runs southward parallel to the Vaibhāra is Ratnagiri; the one forming the eastern extension of the Ratnagiri is Chaṭhāgiri, and the hill that stands next to Chaṭhāgiri in continuation of Ratnagiri is Śailagiri. The one opposite to the Chaṭhāgiri is Udayagiri; that which lies to the south of Ratnagiri and the west of the Udaya is Soṇagiri. The Vaibhāra-

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[1] *Mahābhārata*, ii, 21.2.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 21.11.

[3] Law, *Rājagriha in Ancient Literature*, pp. 2f., 28f.

giri extends southward and westward ultimately to form the western entrance of Rajgir with the Soṇagiri.'[1]

A list of seven hills may be made out from the Pali texts with the addition of Kāḷaśilā, a black rock on a side of Isigili,[2] and that of Paṭibhānakūṭa, an echoing peak with a fearful precipice (subhayānako papāto) in the neighbourhood of Gijjhakūṭa,[3] to the traditional list of five. These very texts speak of Indakūṭa near Gijjhakūṭa[4] and Vediyaka hill, identified by Cunningham with the Giriyak, the latter containing the famous cave, called Indasāla-guhā[5] (wrongly Sanskritised as Indraśaila-guhā). It may safely be maintained that the group of five Rajgir hills formed, as it now forms, the head, and the Vediyaka the tail of one and the same short range running from west to east over a distance of nine miles from Rajgir to the village of Giriyak or Giryek.

Among the five hills of Rājagaha all but the Isigili bore different names in different ages.[6] The Vepulla mountain, for instance, was known in a very remote age by the name of Pācīnavaṃsa and the people of the locality were then

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[1] Law, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[2] *Dīgha*, ii, pp. 116-7.

[3] *Saṃyutta*, v, p. 448.

[4] *Ibid.*, i, p. 206.

[5] *Dīgha*, ii, p. 263; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, iii, p. 697.

[6] *Majjhima*, iii, p. 68f.

known as Tivaras. In the next stage the name of the hill was changed to Vaṅkaka, and that of the people to Rohitassas. In the third stage the hill received the name of Supassa and the people became known by the name of Suppiyas. It is in the fourth or last stage that the hill became known as Vepulla and the people by the name of Magadhas.[1]

With the Pi-pu-lo (Vipula, better, Vaihāra-vipula) hill 'to the west of the north gate of' Rājagaha Hiuen Tsang associated five hundred hot springs of which several scores, some cold, some tepid, remained at his time. The source of them was traced to the Anotatta lake.[2] In the Jaina *Vividhatīrthakalpa* the Vaibhāragiri is described as the sacred hill affording the possibility of the formation of kuṇḍas of tepid and cold water (taptaśīlāmbukuṇḍāni). The Pali and Epic traditions, too, speak of hot springs in connection with Rājagaha,[3] while Buddhaghosa definitely refers them to the Vebhāra hill.[4]

The Indasālaguhā in the Vediyaka hill was not the only cave in the Rajgir or Giryek range. The Rājagaha hills abounded in *guhās* and kandarās, caves and crevices, sufficient to offer accommodation, according to the Vinaya

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1 *Saṃyutta*, ii, p. 190f.; Law, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
2 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, ii, pp. 153-4.
3 *Sāratthappakāsinī*, i, p. 38.
4 *Ibid.*

Cullavagga,[1] for five hundred brethren. Among the caves, those worthy of mention were the Pippali (or Pipphali) and Sattapaṇṇi, both associated with the Vebhāra hill. Both of them were situated on the north side of this hill.[2] And among the crevices, those enjoying importance were these four: Kapota-kandarā, Gomaṭa-kandarā, Tinduka-kandarā and Tapoda-kandarā.[3] The Pāsāṇaka-cetiya was a holy rock not far from Rājagaha.[4]

Besides these hills there were in the Middle country some natural forests (svayaṃjātavanā) and some hill-tracts. The Kurujāṅgala, for instance, was a wild region in the Kuru realm which extended as far north as the Kāmyaka forest and which in all likelihood separated the Kuru realm from Pañcāla. According to one tradition, the kingdom of Uttarapañcāla was founded in this very jungle tract. The Pārileyyakavana was an elephant-forest at some distance from the city of Kosambī and on the way to Sāvatthī.[5] The Añjanavana at Sāketa, the Mahāvana at Vesālī and the Mahāvana at Kapilavatthu were natural forests. The latter Mahāvana lay in one stretch up to the foot of

[1] *Vinaya*, ii, p. 76.
[2] *Udāna*, i, 6; iii, 7; *Dīgha*, ii, p. 116f.
[3] *Udāna*, iv, 4; Law, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
[4] *Sutta-nipāta*, verse 1013.
[5] *Saṃyutta*, iii, p. 95; *Vinaya*, i, p. 352; *Udāna*, iv, 5.

the Himalayas.[1] The Lumbinīvana, a village in the time of Aśoka, situated on the bank of the Rohiṇī on the Kapilavatthu side, was a similar forest.[2] The Nāgavana, an elephant-forest at Hatthigāma in the Vajjī realm,[3] the Sālavana of the Mallas at Kusīnārā,[4] the Bhesakaḷāvana at Suṃsumāragira in the realm of the Bhaggas,[5] the Siṃsapāvana at Kosambī,[6] the one to the north of Setavyā in Kosala,[7] the one near Āḷavī and the Pipphalivana of the Moriyas[8] may be cited as other typical instances of natural forests. The Āḷavī (Ardhamāgadhī, Ālabhī), identified by Cunningham and Hoernle with Newal or Nawal in Unao district in U.P. and by Nandolal Dey with Aviwa, 27 miles north-east of Etwah,[9] was, as its name implies, a forest tract and formed a Yakṣa principality.[10] Similarly Kajaṅgala, which lay to the east of Aṅga and extended from the Ganges in the north-east to the Salaḷavatī or Suvarṇarekhā in the south-east, was an extensive hill-tract in the Mid-land. The

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1 *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, 309.

2 *Jātaka*, i, p. 52f.; *Kathāvatthu*, pp. 97, 559; *Manorathapūraṇī*, i, p. 10.

3 *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 213.

4 *Dīgha*, ii, p. 146f.

5 Wrongly spelt *Suṃsumāragiri*. *Majjhima*, i, p. 95; ii, p. 91, etc.

6 *Saṃyutta*, v, p. 437.

7 *Dīgha*, ii, p. 316.

8 *Ibid.*, ii, p. 164f.

9 Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 24.

10 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-1.

Viñjhāṭavi represented the forests surrounding the Vindhya range, through which lay the way from Pāṭaliputta to Tāmalitti.[1] According to Buddhaghosa, it was then a forest without any human habitation (agāmakaṃ araññaṃ).[2]

Over and above the natural forests and jungles there were hundreds and thousands of private and royal gardens and parks, and in some of the parks the deer, set at liberty, roamed about freely. The *migadāya* (*mṛgadāva*) at Isipatana near Benares, the one at Maddakucchi in Rājagaha, and that at Bhesakaḷāvana were three among the notable deer-parks. Besides the tanks, large and small (taḷāka-pokkharaṇī) and wells (kūpā, udapānā), in which the Mid-land abounded, there were several natural pools (jātasaras) and lakes (dahas), though none of them were so very important as to find mention by name.

It may, perhaps, be safely premised that the realms visited by the Buddha were all included by the Buddhists in their Middle country. Such realms were Kuru and Pañchāla in the west and north-west, Vaṃsa or Vatsa in the west and south-west, Kāsī and Kosala in the middle, the Sakya and Koliya in the north, the Vajji and Malla in the east and north-east, and Aṅga,

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[1] *Mahāvaṃsa*, xix, 6; *Dīpavaṃsa*, xvi, 2.
[2] *Samantapāsādikā*, iii, p. 655.

of the Sarasvatī and the north of the Dṛṣadvatī, between Taruntuka and Arantuka and between the lakes of Rāma and Macakruka.[1] In Pali we have mention of Kammāsadamma (also spelt, Kammāsadhamma).[2] and Thullakoṭṭhita [3] as its two townships (nigamā). The Jātakas even speak of two townships by the name of Kammāsadhamma, one distinguished from the other as *mahā* from *cūḷa*.[4] The commentaries have their own ingenious explanation for the origin of the name of the first township.[5] But it should be noted that, another spelling of its name is Kammāsadamma, a name which suggests that the place was a training ground of draught-horses. According to Buddhaghosa, the second township was called Thullakoṭṭhita because its granaries were always full (thulla-koṭṭhaṃ, paripuṇṇa-koṭṭhāgāraṃ).[6] The Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* speaks of another ancient, wealthy, famous and beautiful town, named Isukāra after its ruler Isukāra ('the Arrow-maker').[7]

Pañcāla: This country was divided into two kingdoms: Uttarapañcāla and Dakkhiṇapañcāla,

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[1] *Mahābhārata*, iii, 83.204.

[2] *Dīgha*, ii, pp. 55, 290; *Majjhima*, i, pp. 55, 501; *Saṃyutta*, ii, p. 92.

[3] *Majjhima*, ii, p. 54; *Manorathapūraṇī*, i, p. 144.

[4, 5] *Jātaka*, v, pp. 35, 411.

[6] *Papañcasūdanī*, ii, p. 722. Cf. *Avadānaśataka*, ii, p. 118.

[7] *Uttarādhyayana*, xiv, 1; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 4th ed., p. 113.

the Bhāgīrathī forming the dividing line between them.[1] The northern Pañcāla had its capital at Ahicchatra[2] (Adhicchatrā in Āṣāḍhasena's inscriptions), identified with modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district. According to the Somanassa Jātaka, its capital Uttarapañcāla bore the same name as the janapada.[3] The capital of Dakkhiṇapañcāla was Kampilla (Sk. Kāmpilya) which is identical with modern Kampil in the Farokhabad district. In the Kumbhakāra Jātaka, however, Kampilla, situated on the right bank of the Ganges, is wrongly described as the capital of Uttarapañcāla.[4]

Vaṃsa (Vatsa): This country, called Vatsabhūmi in the *Mahābhārata*,[5] was, as Hiuen Tsang knew it, about 6,000 *li* in circuit, and its capital, Kauśāmbī, about 30 *li*. 'It was a fertile country with a hot climate; it yielded much upland rice and sugarcane; its people were enterprising, fond of the arts, and cultivators of religious merit.'[6] In the *Lalitavistara*, however, its inhabitants are criticised as 'rude and rough' (prākṛtaṃ cha

[1] Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 108.
[2] *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparva, Ch. 140.
[3] *Jātaka*, v, p. 444.
[4] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 379.
[5] *Mahābhārata*, ii, 30.
[6] Watters, *op. cit.*, i, p. 366.

caṇḍaṃ cha).[1] The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (viii, 14.3) places it, together with Uśīnara, Kuru and Pañcāla in the Dhruvamadhyamā dik (i.e. Madhyadeśa). The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* describes it as a land which was very rich and prosperous,[2] while the *Arthaśāstra* testifies to the high quality of its cotton fabrics.[3] Kauśāmbī which was all along its capital is rightly identified by Cunningham with the present village of Kosam on the right bank of the Yamunā. Even apart from retaining the name of Kosambī, Kosam is situated on a bank of the Yamunā as it should be according to Pali tradition. The present distance by road of about 100 miles from Benares to Kosam is the distance of 13 yojanas suggested by Fa Hien.[4] According to Hiuen Tsang, a way from Prayāga (Allahabad) to Kauśāmbī lay through a jungle and bare plains covering seven days' journey on foot.[5] Kosam is about 30 miles from Allahabad across the fields and 137 miles by road above the Yamunā. At a distance of about 2½ miles north-east of Kosam is the village of Pabhosā where two caves were dedicated to the Kassapiyas by a king of Ahicchatra.

1 *Lalitavistara*, ed. Lefmann, p. 21.

2 *Aṅguttara*, iv, pp. 252, 256, 260; *Manorathapūraṇī*, i, p. 306f.; Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 501.

3 Shamaśāstrī's Tr., p. 94.

4 Watters, *op. cit.*, i, p. 367.

5 Watters, *op. cit.*, i, p. 366.

In a modern Jaina dedicatory inscription the hill of Pabhosā is placed just outside the town of Kauśāmbī (Kauśāmbī-nagarabāhya-Prabhāsācalopari). At Kosambī were two famous gardens known as Ghositārāma and Pāvārikambavana.[1]

There was a reserve-forest of Pārileyyaka in Vatsa (rather in Ceti) the way to which from Kosambī lay through the village of Bālakaloṇakāra and Pācīnavaṃsadāya. Pārileyyaka itself stood on a road from Kosambī to Sāvatthī.[2]

The Vinaya Cullavagga (xii) records a journey on foot from Kosambī to Ahogaṅga (Adhogaṅga) hill, from there to Soreyya, from Soreyya to Saṃkassa (Saṃkissa), from there to Kaṇṇakujja (Kanauj), from Kaṇṇakujja to Udumbara, from there to Aggalapura, and from Aggalapura to Sahajāti up to which the country-boats could ply. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* (iii, p. 1f.) records also similar journey from Verañjā to Benares *via* Soreyya, Saṃkassa and Kaṇṇakujja after crossing the Ganges at Payāgapatiṭṭhāna.

Bhagga: This was the land of the Bhaggas (Bhargas) which became a dependency of Vatsa with Suṃsumāragira as its chief town.[3] The

[1] *Vinaya*, i, p. 337f.; *Majjhima*, i, p. 320; *Dīgha*, ii, p. 81.

[2] *Ibid.*, i, p. 352f.; *Saṃyutta*, iii, p. 95; *Udāna*, iv, 5; *Majjhima*, i, p. 320; *Jātaka*, iii, p. 489, etc.

[3] *Majjhima*, i, p. 332; *Aṅguttara*, ii, p. 61; vi, p. 85; *Vinaya*, ii, p. 127.

name of its capital is generally spelt as Suṃsumāragiri. But Buddhaghosa expressly says that the city was called Suṃsumāragira on account of the fact that while it was being founded, the shriek of a suṃsumāra (crocodile) was heard.[1] If the spelling giri be correct, the city must have been built either round or in the vicinity of the Suṃsumāra hill. The location of Bhagga is not as yet settled, though Dr. Malalasekera places it between Vesālī and Sāvatthī[2] without citing any evidence for it. In the *Mahābhārata*,[3] too, the Bharga State is associated with Vatsa. In the *Apadāna*, Bhagga is mentioned along with Karusa (Karūṣa),[4] which latter is referred in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* to a neighbourhood of the Vindhya range.[5]

Cetiraṭṭha: The country of the Cetis or Cedis lay near the Yamunā, contiguous to that of the Kurus. It may approximately be identified with the modern Bundelkhand and adjoining region. In the Cetiya Jātaka Sotthivatī,[6] probably identical with the Śukti or Śuktimatī of

[1] *Papañcasūdanī*, i, Sinhalese ed., p. 292.

[2] Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 345.

[3] *Mahābhārata*, ii, 30.10-11; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 159. Also *Harivaṃśa*, 29.73.

[4] *Apadāna*, ii, p. 359.

[5] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Chap. 57.

[6] *Jātaka*, (Fausböll), iii, pp. 454–461.

the *Mahābhārata*,[1] is mentioned as its capital. Sahajāti [2] finds mention as a township of Ceti, which probably stood on the right bank of the Yamunā. Sahañcanika [3] appears to have been another township, but according to Dr. Malalasekera,[4] the name is evidently a wrong reading of Sahajāti. There was a Deer Park in the village of Pācinavaṃsa,[5] which, as its name implies, lay to the east of Vatsa, next to the village of Bālakaloṇakāra on the side of the Vatsa kingdom. The Vessantara Jātaka [6] mentions one Cetaraṭṭha, situated 30 yojanas from the Jetuttara-nagara, through which lay a way to the Himalayan region. This latter Ceti country is sometimes identified with the territory covered by the kingdom of Nepal.

Kāsī: This is one of the most ancient kingdoms in Northern India, with Bārāṇasī (modern Benares) as its capital, twelve yojanas in extent.[7] The city stood, as it now does, on the left bank of the Ganges, and it was known by different names in different ages: Surundhana, Sudassana, Brahmavaḍḍhana, Pupphavatī, Ramma and Molinī.[8] In Pali texts it is predicted

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1 *Mahābhārata*, iii, 22–50; xiv, 83.2.

2 *Aṅguttara*, iii, p. 355.

3 *Saṃyutta*, v, p. 436f.

4 Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 1080.

5 *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 228f.

6 *Jātaka*, vi, p. 514f.

7 *Ibid.*, vi, p. 160.

8 *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 15, 119.

to be the future capital of Jambudvīpa. According to Brahmanical literature, the city derived its name from Asi and Baruṇā,[1] the two small streams bounding it on the south and the north respectively. The country was noted as a great centre of trade, most populous and prosperous at the same time. One high way connected it with Rājagaha[2] and another with Sāvatthī.[3] It was noted for its silk cloth[4] and for perfumes (Kāsī-vilepana, Kāsī-candana).[5] Vāsabhagāma, Macchikāsaṇḍa, Kīṭāgiri and Dhanapālagāma are mentioned as notable places. Of them Kīṭāgiri was 'a very fertile tract with abundance of rain-water enabling it to yield three harvests of food-grains'.[6] Cundaṭṭhila (Cundavīla) finds mention in the Petavatthu, iii, i, as a village near Benares but on the other side of the river (Baruṇā ?) and between Vāsabhagāma and Benares. A locality of this name finds mention in one of the Barhut inscriptions.[7] The most important place near Benares in the history of Buddhism is the Deer Park at Isipatana (Ṛṣipatana, modern Sarnath) eighteen leagues from Uruvelā, the place of the Buddha's Enlightenment and three or four miles to the

1 Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 435-6.

2 *Vinaya*, i, p. 212.

3 *Ibid.*, ii, p. 10.

4 *Jātaka*, vi, p. 151.

5 *Ibid.*, i, p. 355; *Aṅguttara*, iii, p. 391.

6 Barua in *I.H.Q.*, x, p. 63.

7 Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*.

north of the present city of Benares. The old Deer Park still exists about five miles from Sarnath. The ancient city of Benares was a great centre of trade and industry and trade relations existed between it on one side and Sāvatthī and Takkasilā on the other.[1]

Kosala: A distinction is to be made between Kosala as a janapada and Kosala as an empire. The former was the Kosala proper. The latter comprised five territories including Kosala proper,[2] the remaining four being Kāsī with Benares as its capital, Ālabhī (Pali Āḷavī) with its capital at Ālabhī, Uttarapañcāla having Kampillapura (better, Ahicchatra) for its capital, and another with Polāsapura as its capital.[3] Here we are concerned with the country of Kosala proper which was divided into Uttara and Dakkhiṇa, evidently by the Sarabhū (Sarayū) serving as a wedge between them. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Vāyu Purāṇa* speak of two Kosalas, Northern and Southern, the former with Śrāvastī as its capital and the latter having Kuśāvatī for its capital, Ayodhyā (Pali Ayojjhā) being the earlier capital of the undivided kingdom.[4] The *Rāmāyaṇa* locates Kuśāvatī, the

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[1] *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, i, p. 123; iii, p. 429.

[2] *Saṃyutta*, i, p. 80, speaks of *pañcarājāno Pasenadi-pamukhā*. Cf. *Journal Asiatique*, Juillet—Sept., 1923,—Levi, S.—*Pre-Aryan et Pre-Dravidian dans l'Inde.*

[3] See *Uvāsaga-dasāo* discussed in Law's *S'rāvastī*, p. 12.

[4] *Rāmāyaṇa*, vii, 120.7; 121.4-5; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88, 209.

capital of Dakṣiṇa-Kosala at the foot of the Vindhyas. This may have been precisely the city which under the name of Ayodhyā is associated in the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti* with the Vaitāḍhya range along which there were sixty Vidyādhara towns (saṭṭhiṃ Vijjhāharaṇagarāvāsā),[1] referred to also in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela as Vijādharādhivāsā. Besides Ayojjhā and Sāvatthī, Sāketa, too, has been mentioned in some of the early Buddhist texts[2] as the capital of Kosala, the northern Kosala. Sāketa is said to have stood on a high road between Sāvatthī and Kosambī,[3] at a distance of seven relay drives of royal chariots (satta-ratha-vinītāni).[4] Sāvatthī was called Sāvatthī either because it was founded near the hermitage of the sage Savattha or because of its great prosperity aṣ a city.[5] It stood on the right bank of the Aciravatī (modern Rapti).[6] There is much to be said in favour of Dr. Barua's suggestion that the great trade-route from Rājagaha to Sāvatthī branched off into two roads, one the Dakkhiṇāpatha or Southern (better, South-western) Road, and the

1 *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, i, 12.
2 *Jātaka*, iii, p. 270; *Mahāvastu*, i, p. 348.
3 *Sutta-nipāta*, verses 1011–1013.
4 *Majjhima*, i, p. 149.
5 Law, *Geography*, p. 5f.
6 Law, *S'rāvastī*, p. 9.

other Uttarāpatha or Northern (better, North-western) Road, each lending its name to the region through which it lay.[1] Ukkaṭṭhā[2] was an important town in Kosala besides Sāvatthī and Sāketa, and Naṅgaraka,[3] a township bordering on the Sakya territory, Uḷumpa or Medaḷumpa being the adjoining township on the Śākya side. Setavyā on the high road between Kapilavatthu and Sāvatthī was the headquarters of a chieftain.[4] Among other towns, mention may be made of Daṇḍakappaka,[5] Nāḷakapāna[6] and Paṅkadhā.[7] The Pali texts speak of a few famous Brahmin villages, such as Manasākaṭa (probably the same as Manavasītikaḍa of the Soghaura plate), Ekasālā, Icchānaṅgala, Opasāda, Nagaravinda and Venāgapura.[8] As for other localities, these preserve the names of Toraṇavatthu on the road between Sāvatthī and Sāketa,[9] Palāsavana, a woodland at Naḷakapāna, Caṇḍalakappa,[10] and Nālandā.[11]

1 Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*.
2 *Dīgha*, i, p. 87.
3 *Majjhima*, ii, *Dhammacetiya Sutta*.
4 *Sutta-nipāta*, verses 36–38; *Dīgha*, ii, p. 316.
5 *Aṅguttara*, iii, p. 402.
6 *Ibid*., v, p. 122.
7 *Ibid*., i, p. 236.
8 Law, *Geography*, p. 4; Malalasekera, *op. cit*., i, p. 696; Law, *S'rāvastī*, p. 11.
9 *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 374.
10 *Majjhima*, ii, p. 209.
11 *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 322.

At the south gate of Sāvatthī and within a distance of about two miles from it was the famous garden of Prince Jeta, at its east gate lay the site of the Pubbārāma built by Visākhā, and in its neighbourhood stood the Ekasālakatinduka grove of Queen Mallikā.[1] The Jaina Bhagavatī Sūtra mentions the settlement of Saravaṇa as the birth-place of Gosāla.[2]

The Sundarikā, probably not far from Sāvatthī, was a sacred river in Kosala besides the Sarabhū and Aciravatī. The river Sadānīrā (modern Gaṇḍakī) formed a boundary in the east between Kosala and Videha.[3]

Magadha: The kingdom or country roughly corresponding to the modern Patna and Gayā districts of Behar was broadly divided into two *khettas*: Gayā and Magadha [4] from a religious, and may be also from a fiscal point of view. In the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti* the latter is distinctly called Māgahatitthakhetta. The Ganges formed a natural dividing line between Kāsī in the west and Magadha in the east, as well as between Magadha in the south and Videha

1 *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, ii, 365.

2 Law, *S'rāvastī*, p. 26.

3 Law, *S'rāvastī in Indian Literature*, p. 13.

4 *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 301: *Gayā ti gāmo pi titthaṃ pi vuccati*; *Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā*, p. 225: *Magadharaṭṭhe Bodhimaṇḍa*; *Lalitavistara*, Mitra's Edition, XVII, 309: *Māgadhakānaṃ Gayā*; *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 583: *Magadhakhette pāsāṇakacetiye*; Barua, *Gayā and Buddhagayā*, i, p. 83f.

and Vesālī in the north. The river Campā (modern Chāndan) formed a boundary on the east side between Magadha and Aṅga. As for the two khettas of Gayā and Magadha, it may be said that Gorathagiri (Aśoka's khalatika-pavata) affording a distant view, as it did of Rājagaha, stood just on the borderland of Magadha towards Gayā. The Gayā proper, the holiest place of ancient India, comprised three divisions, all located along the left bank of the Nerañjarā and the Gayā river (i.e. Phalgu): Uruvelā, Nadī (the meeting-place of the Nerañjarā and the Mahānadī), and Gayā. According to the *Mahābhārata*, the Gayā division contained twenty-five hills (enumerated in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*), of which the Gayāśīra (modern Brahmayoni hill) was the main. As clearly implied in the Gayāmāhātmya the hills of Gayā formed the head of a very old range of hills with its navel at Yājpur in Orissa and southern extremity at Mahendragiri. The distance by road from Gayā to Uruvelā (modern Bodhagayā) was three *gāvutas* (six or seven miles) then as now.[1] The Uruvelā division on the banks of the Nerañjarā contained Senānīgāma or Senānigama (identified by Bloch with the present village of Urel) and Nala, the native village of Buddhaghosa, the great Pali commentator.

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[1] '*Bodhimaṇḍato hi Gayā tīṇi, Bārāṇasī aṭṭharasa-yojanāni.*'

According to Hiuen Tsang, 'the Uruvelā of yore' extended north and east 14 or 15 *li* at least from a point near the base of the Gayāśīrṣa hill on the other side of the Phalgu. In its southern extension it was outskirted by an extensive jungle tract of Vaṅkahāra janapada (roughly identical with Hazaribagh district).[1] The way from Gayā to Benares lay through such localities as Aparagayā, Vaśālā, Cundadvolā, Lohitavastu, Gandhapura and Sārathipura on the right bank of the Ganges, opposite to the city of Benares.[2]

The earlier capital of Magadha was Rājagaha, also known as Giribbaja. Hiuen Tsang knew it as Kuśāgrapura (ku-she-ka-lu-pu-lo), a name corresponding to Kuśāgrapura, met with in such late works as the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and Jaina *Vividhatīrthakalpa*.[3] According to the *Mahābhārata*, the city abounded in *lodhra* grass. Besides the five hills, the *guhās*, *kandaras*, *tapodas*, etc., already discussed in connection with Rājagaha, mention also may be made of the Corapapāta, the precipice down which the thieves were thrown, the Sappasoṇḍikapabbhāra, the tank called Sumāgadha, Moranivāpa, a feeding ground of the peafowls. The Laṭṭhivana (Yaṣṭivana) was either a bamboo-forest or palm-

1 Barua, *Gayā and Buddhagayā*, i, p. 106.

2 *Mahāvastu*, iii, p. 324f. ; Barua, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 115-6.

3 Law, *Rājagṛha*, p. 1.

grove on a road between Rājagaha and Uruvelā.[1] Other localities of importance near about Rājagaha, a city provided with sixty-four gates,[2] the four of which were main, were Veluvana, the Bamboo-grove of Bimbisāra, Jīvaka's Mango-grove, the Royal pleasance at Ambalaṭṭhikā on the high road from Rājagaha to Vesālī, and Pāvārika's Mango-grove at Nālandā (identified with the present village of Burgaon). Ekanālā finds mention as a famous Brahmin village at Dakkhiṇagiri.[3] Nālaka was a village in Magadha. The Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra* speaks of a village by the name of Siddhatthagāma.[4] The Jainas lay the scene of Mahāvīra's demise at Pāvāpurī on the Bihar Sarif-Nawadah road. The village of Pāṭaligāma stood on the right bank of the Ganges, on the same high road, opposite Koṭigāma, a locality in an extremity of the Vajji territory. Pāṭaligāma having been fortified, gave rise to the city of Pāṭaliputta, the second and later capital of Magadha which suffered thrice from the action of water, fire and earthquake.[5] The *Dhammapada*-Commentary (iii, p. 439f.) places Rājagaha at a distance of five leagues from the Ganges. The country of Magadha comprised as many as eighty thousand villages.[6]

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[1] Law, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17. [2, 3] Law, *op. cit.*, p. 8f.
[4] Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 250.
[5] *Dīgha*, ii, 88. [6] *Vinaya*, i, p. 179.

Aṅga: The kingdom or country of Aṅga, 4,000 *li* in extent according to Hiuen Tsang, lay to the east of Magadha, separated from the latter by the river Campā. On the north it was bounded by the Ganges. Aṅga, as described in the *Mahābhārata*, may be supposed to have comprised the districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr. Its capital Campā on the right bank of the Ganges, formerly known by the name of Mālinī,[1] stood at a distance of sixty yojanas from Mithilā.[2] Bhaddiya and Assapura are two other cities that find mention.[3] Āpaṇa is mentioned as a township in Aṅguttarāpa, a tract which lay 'north of the river Mahī, evidently a part of Aṅga on the other side of that river'.[4] The way from Bhaddiya to Āpaṇa lay through Aṅguttarāpa.[5] Aṅga was a prosperous country and Campā was undoubtedly one of the most flourishing cities and a great centre of trade and commerce. In its neighbourhood was the famous tank of Gaggarā.[6]

Kajaṅgala: The country of Kajaṅgala formed an eastern boundary of the Middle country just beyond which was a Brahmin village of Mahāsālā.

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1 *Mahābhārata*, xii, 5.6-7: *Yā Mālinyabhavat purā*. Also *Matsya Purāṇa*, 48.97; *Vāyu*, 99.105; *Harivaṃśa*, 31.49.

2 *Jātaka*, vi, p. 32.

3 *Majjhima*, i, p. 271; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, i, p. 384.

4 Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, p. 22; *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 437.

5 *Vinaya*, i, p. 243f.; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, iii, p. 363.

6 *Dīgha*, i, p. 111; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 279.

The *Divyāvadāna*, as already pointed out, fixes the Puṇḍakakṣa hill as its eastern boundary beyond which was Puṇḍravardhana in North Bengal, also included in the Mid-land. But there is no justification in saying that the country of Kajaṅgala, with its chief town of the same name, was in any sense identical with Puṇḍravardhana. According to Hiuen Tsang,[1] the country of Kajaṅgala, 2,000 *li* in circuit, was bounded on the north by the Ganges; the kingdom of Puṇḍravardhana could be reached from its capital by journeying about 600 *li* eastward across the Ganges. Kajaṅgala was a prosperous place where food was easily available (dabba-sambhārā-sulabhā).[2] The *Aṅguttara Nikāya*[3] speaks of a Bamboo-grove at the town of Kajaṅgala, while in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, we have mention of another locality named Mukheluvana.[4] At the south-east of this country was the river called Salaḷavatī.

Sumbha: This was the land of the Sumbhas with Setaka, Sedaka or Desaka as its chief town.[5] Dr. R. C. Majumdar inclines to identify Sumbha with Suhma (modern Midnapore district). But the location of the tract is uncertain.

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[1] Beal, *Buddhist Records*, ii, p. 193f.

[2] *Jātaka*, iv, p. 310f.

[3] *Aṅguttara*, v, p. 54f.

[4] *Majjhima*, iii, p. 298.

[5] *Saṃyutta*, v, p. 89; *Jātaka*, i, p. 393.

Vajjī territory: It appears to have comprised the principalities of eight [1] or nine [2] allied clans. The names of all of them are nowhere given; these are left only to be inferred. The Pali works expressly speak of Vajjīgāma,[3] a locality of the Vajjīs near about Vesālī. Vesālī (modern Besarh in the Muzaffarpur district of North Behar) was the headquarters of the Licchavis. The city was rich, prosperous and populous. 'It had 7,707 storied buildings, 7,707 pinnacled houses (kūṭāgāras), 7,707 ārāmas, and 7,707 lotus ponds',[4]—too symmetrical to be accepted as a fact. It was encompassed by three walls at a distance of a *gāvuta* from one another each provided with gates and watch-towers. The early Jaina texts locate Kuṇḍagāma, the seat of power of the Nātas in a suburb of Vesālī.[5] The country of the Bhaggas is placed between Vesālī and Sāvatthī.[6] Videha (modern Tirhut), the land of the Videhas, with Mithilā as its capital, was bounded by the Kosikī in the east, the Ganges in the south, the Sadānīrā in the west, and the Himalayas in the north.[6] Cunningham identi-

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1 *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, ii, p. 519: an inference drawn from the expression aṭṭhakulikā.

2 *Kalpasūtra*, sec. 128; *Nirayāvalī Sūtra*: an inference drawn from the expression *navamallaki*.

3 *Saṃyutta*, v, 348, etc.

4 *Vinaya Texts*, ii, 171; *Lalitavistara*, ed. Lefmann, Ch. iii, p. 21.

5 *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, *Jaina Sūtras*, *SBE*., vol. xxii, pp. x-xi.

6 Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 7, 30, 31.

fies Mithilā with Janakapura, a 'small town within the Nepal border, north of which the Mozaffarpur and Darbhanga districts meet'.[1]

The high road connecting Rājagaha with Kapilavatthu passed through such places in the Vajjī territory as Koṭigāma on the left bank of the Ganges, Nādikā, Vesālī, Hatthigāma, Ambagāma and Jambugāma. There was a natural forest called Mahāvana in the neighbourhood of Vesālī.[2] Mithilā, the capital of Videha, had at each of its four gates a market town of the Yavamajjhaka shape.[3]

Ukkācelā (but not Ukkāvelā, met with as a variant) was a Vajjian town on the left bank of the Ganges.[4]

Malla country: The kingdom or country of the Mallas,[5] stated to be nine in the Jaina canonical texts, comprised in theory nine territories, one of each of the confederate clans. But the Pali canonical texts bring into prominence the territories of just two of them, one with its headquarters at Kusīnārā (Kuśīnagara) and other with Pāvā as its chief town. The first abutted on the Śākya territory and the second on the Vajjī. Bhoganagara was a Malla

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[1] Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 7, 30, 31.

[2] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, 309.

[3] *Jātaka*, vi, p. 330.

[4] *Majjhima*, i, p. 225; *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 261f.; *Papañcasūdanī*, Sinhalese ed., i, p. 447.

[5] *Kalpasūtra*, §128; Nirayāvalī Sūtra.

town between Jambugāma and Pāvā on the high road connecting Vesālī with Kapilavatthu.[1] The river Kakutthā formed the boundary between the two territories, for after crossing it one could reach the *Sal* grove of Kusīnārā on the river Hiraññavatī. Kusīnārā which was just a daub town was in bygone ages the most flourishing and magnificent city of Kusāvatī, 12 leagues in length from east to west and 7 leagues in breadth from north to south.[2] Anupiya or Anupiyā was another Malla town, evidently on the same high road, between Kusīnārā and the river Anomā,[3] the latter serving as a dividing line between the Śakya and Malla territories. The Uruvelakappa was yet another Malla town. In the neighbourhood stood Mahāvana which was an extensive forest.[4] Of the two cities of Pāvā and Kusīnārā, the first may probably be identified with Kasia on the smaller Gandak and to the east of the Gorakhpur district, and the second with the village called Padaraona, 12 miles to the north-east of Kasia. Hiuen Tsang's journey from Kuśīnagara to Benares covering a distance of 500 *li* lay through a great forest.[5]

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[1] *Dīgha*, ii, p. 123; *Sutta-nipāta*, verses 1012-13.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 146f.

[3] *Jātaka*, i, pp. 65, 140; *Dīgha*, iii, p. 1; *Vinaya*, ii, pp. 180, 184.

[4] *Saṃyutta*, iv, pp. 327, 330; v, p. 228; *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 438.

[5] Beal, *Buddhist Records*, ii, p. 43.

Śākya and Koliya territories: The Śākya territory lay to the east of Kośala and due south of the Himalayas. It was then rich and prosperous.[1] Where it bordered on the kingdom of Kośala, there was the Sakya town Uḷumpa or Medaḷumpa, opposite the Kosalan town of Naṅgaraka. Kapilavatthu (identified by Rhys Davids with Tilaura, two miles from Tauliva in the Nepal Terai), was the capital of the Śākyas. According to Hiuen Tsang, the city was situated to the south-east of Sāvatthī, at a distance of 500 *li* or so from the latter.[2] It was situated on the high road which passed through Setavyā to connect it with Sāvatthī.[3] Among other towns, mention is made of Cātumā, Sāmagāma, Sakkara, Sīlavatī and Khomadussa.[4]

The Koliyas were distinguished as those of Devadaha and those of Rāmagāma.[5] Accordingly they possessed two territories. That of the former was separated from the Śākya territory by the river Rohiṇī. On the bank of this river on the Śākya side stood Lumbinivana, the birth-place of the Buddha, mentioned in Aśoka's inscription as Lumminigāma, the modern village of Rummindei, only 10 miles to

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1 *Sutta-nipāta*, verse 1012.
2 Beal, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 13.
3 *Sutta-nipāta*, verse 1012.
4 Law, *Geography*, p. 28.
5 *Dīgha*, ii, p. 164.

the east of Kapilavatthu and 2 miles to the north of Bhagavānpur.[1] Devadaha on the other side of the Rohiṇī (Hiuen Tsang's Tailavāha ?) was the seat of government of the first Koliyan territory. Rāmagāma, the second Koliyan territory, lay, according to Hiuen Tsang, to the east of Kapilavatthu, at a distance of about 300 *li* across a wild jungle.[2] In order to reach Kusīnārā from it, the pilgrim had to walk north-east through a great forest, along a dangerous and difficult road, where wild oxen, herds of elephants, and robbers, and hunters caused incessant trouble.[3] In the neighbourhood of Kapilavatthu was the famous pleasance of Nigrodha.[4]

Pipphalivana: This is described as the land of the Moriyas. It is well-nigh impossible to offer any definite suggestion for its identification. One may be even tempted to find an echo of its name in that of Piprāvā, a village in the Birdpur Estate in the district of Basti.[5] But a Buddhist tradition connects it with Himatala,[6] which, if correct, may lead one to think that it lay somewhere in the kingdom which came to be known by the name of Nepal.

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1 Law, *Geography*, p. 30.
2 Beal, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 25.
3 *Ibid.*, ii, p. 31.
4 *Vinaya*, i, 82; *Jātaka*, i, p. 88f.
5 Law, *Geography*, p. 29.
6 *Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā*, Sinhalese ed., p. 180.

Allakappa and Veṭhadīpa: The first is mentioned as the land of the Bulis and the second as the native land of a Brahmin called Doṇa. In the *Dhammapada* commentary, both of them are called kingdoms, the first being ten leagues in extent.[1] The Sanskrit form of the first name would be Ādrakalpa, and that of the second Veṣṭadvīpa. Hiuen Tsang locates the site of Droṇastūpa,[2] that is to say, of Veṭhadīpa, 100 *li* south-east of Mahāsāra (Pali Mahāsālā, Mahāsāla), identified by St. Martin with Masār, a village six miles to the west of Arrah. But the Brahmin village of Mahasālā is located in Pali texts to the east of Kajaṅgala in the eastern extremity of the Majjhimadesa.[3] As for the identification of Allakappa, relying only on a verbal similarity of names, fancy may choose between Arrah on the right bank of the Ganges and Adra on the B.N. Railway.

Kesaputta: In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (i, p. 188) the Kālāmas are associated with a place called Kesaputta, which is a name apparently similar to Pāṭaliputta, Seriyāputa (Barhut Inscriptions), Satiyāputa and Keralaputa (Aśoka's R.E. II). Buddhaghosa, however, suggests that both Kālāma and Kesaputta were nigamā or

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1 *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, i, p. 161.

2 Beal, *Buddhist Records*, ii, p. 65.

3 *Vinaya*, i, p. 197; *Jātaka*, i, p. 49.

townships,[1] without telling us where these were actually situated. The Kesaputtas may remind one of the Kesins, a people connected in *Pāṇini* (VI, 4.165) with the Pañcālas and Ḍālbhyas.

Āḷavī: This is the name of both the country and its principal town. The Ardhamāgadhī spelling of the name is Āḷabhī. The town was thirty yojanas from Sāvatthī[2] and twelve from Benares,[3] and it lay between Sāvatthī and Rājagaha. The way from Sāvatthī to Āḷavī and thence to Rājagaha lay through Kīṭāgiri.[4] Mrs. Rhys Davids inclines to think that Āḷavī was on the bank of the Ganges,[5] evidently basing her suggestion on the fury of the Yakkha Āḷavaka who would throw the Buddha over to the other side of the Ganges (pāra-Gaṅgāya), which, however, is treated by Dr. Malalasekera as merely a rhetorical expression without any geographical significance.[6] Āḷavī as a principality was undoubtedly included in the Kosalan empire.

II Pubbanta or Prācya (Eastern India): The Pubbanta or Prācya may be defined as the extreme eastern part of India which lay to the

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[1] *Manorathapūraṇī*: *Kālāmānaṃ nigamoti Kālāma nāma Khattiyā tesaṃ nigamo. Kesaputtiyā ti Kesaputtinigamavāsino.*

[2] *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 220.

[3] Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 61.

[4] *Vinaya*, ii, p. 170f.

[5] *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 408, f.n. 5.

[6] Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, i, p. 296.

east of the Mid-land. The eastern boundary of the Mid-land changed, as we saw, from time to time, from Prayāga to Kāsī, from Kāsī to Kajaṅgala, and ultimately from the latter to Puṇḍravardhana. The only locality to the east of Kajaṅgala which was included in the Mid-land was the Brahmin village of Mahāsālā or Mahāsāla which has not as yet been satisfactorily identified. Its south-east boundary was formed by the river Salaḷavatī (Sarāvatī) to be identified either with the Silai (Sīlāvatī) which taking its rise in the Chotanagpur hills and being united with the Dalkisor (Dvārikeśvarī) flows down as the Rupanarayan[1] through the districts of Bankura and Midnapore, or with the Svarṇarekhā or Suvarṇarekhā which also taking its rise in the Chotanagpur hills flows down through the districts of Manbhum and Midnapore. The Jaina *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* speaks of Lāḍha (Rāḍha) as a pathless country with its two divisions: Subbhabhūmi (probably the same as Sk. Suhma) and Vajjabhūmi,[2] which may be taken to correspond to the modern district of Midnapore. The country of Lāḍha, thus identified extended from the south-east corner of the Mid-land to the Bay of Bengal and lay just to the north-east of Kaliṅga. If the Subbhabhūmi of the *Ācārāṅga* be identical with the Suhma of the *Mahābhārata*

[1] Law, *Geography*, p. 68.
[2] Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, i, p. 84.

(ii, 30.25) it may be taken to have formed then the upper or northern division of the district of Midnapore, while Vajjabhūmi with Tāmalitti (Tāmralipta, modern Tamluk on the western bank of the Rupnarayan), the lower or southern division. Tāmalitti (also spelt as Tāmalitthi), which seems to have stood formerly at the mouth of the Ganges, was a great sea-port town of the time. It is said that Aśoka reached it from Pāṭaliputta by crossing the Ganges and then traversing the Viñjhāṭavī.[1] Sumbha mentioned in the early Pali texts with Setaka, Sedaka or Desaka as its important town would seem to have been a locality other than one corresponding to Subbha or Suhma. Hiuen Tsang speaks of a Śvetapura, obviously the same name as the Pali Setaka, which lay within the Vajji territory, 80 or 90 *li* south from the neighbourhood of Vesālī.[2]

As for Puṇḍra or Puṇḍravardhana (identified with the modern district and town of Bogra), it lay, according to the *Divyāvadāna*, to the east of the Puṇḍakakṣa (Puṇḍrakakṣa) hill, and according to Hiuen Tsang, about 100 *li* east from the northern end of Kajaṅgala across the Ganges, say, from the isolated hill at Sakrigalli. A Brāhmī inscription on a circular stone seal of the Maurya Age, found at Mahāsthāngarh near the town of Bogra, mentions Puṇḍra as a

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[1] Law, *Geography*, p. 68.

[2] Beal, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 75.

beautiful and prosperous town.[1] The way to the city of Puṇḍravardhana from Kajaṅgala must have been through the place now covered by the district of Malda. This is precisely the route from North Behar to Puṇḍra indicated in the *Mahābhārata* (ii, 30.21-22).

Vaṅga[2] finds mention in the *Mahāniddesa* (pp. 155, 415) as an important centre of trade and commerce, and in the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* and Pali chronicles as a country or kingdom. In the *Mahābhārata* (ii, 44.9), Vaṅga is placed contiguous to Aṅga. It is evident even from the Pali canonical texts that Vaṅganta or western extremity of Vaṅga bordered on Aṅga-Magadha. According to the Pali chronicles, the district of Lāḷa (equated with Lāṭa of Western India) was situated between Vaṅga on one side and Kaliṅga on the other.[3] Thus the name Vaṅga in its earlier denotation may be taken to have represented central Bengal extending as far west as the eastern end of Kajaṅgala. Subsequently, say from the time of the Imperial Guptas, Vaṅga, as might be ascertained from the *Mahābhārata* (ii, 30.23), came to denote Eastern Bengal proper, practically identical with Hiuen Tsang's Samataṭa. Suvaṇṇakūṭa mentioned in the *Mahāniddesa*

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[1] D. R. Bhandarkar in *E.I.*

[2] For details, *vide* B. C. Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, vol. ii, Ch. I.

[3] *Dīpavaṃsa*, p. 54; *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 56.

(pp. 155, 415) as another centre of trade and commerce appears to have been the same place as Suvaṇṇakuḍya in the *Arthaśāstra* which Bhaṭṭasvāmī locates in Kāmarūpa.[1]

III Himavanta-padesa (Himalayan region): According to all Indian traditions, Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical, Jambudvīpa as the southern continent extended to the north up to the southern side of Mount Sumeru placed in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* in the middle of a country called Ilāvṛta containing two mountain ranges, the western called Mālyavat and the eastern known as Gandhamādana. The Purāṇa locates the four mountains: Mandara, Merumandara, Supārśva and Kumuda on the east, south, west and north sides of Sumeru respectively. The river Jambu taking its rise in the Merumandara mountain, flows down through the Ilāvṛtavarṣa.[2] The Niṣadha (Pali Nisabha)[3] mountain range is placed to the south of the Ilāvṛtavarṣa to the south of which lay the country of Harivarṣa. In between Bhāratavarṣa and Harivarṣa are placed the Himalayan range and the Hemakūṭa, the former lying to the south of the latter. This is also the setting of the countries and mountain ranges to be found in the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti* and *Mahābhārata.*

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1 N. N. Das Gupta in *Indian Culture*, vol. v, p. 339.

2 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Ch. 57.

3 *Jātaka*, vi, pp. 204, 212; *Apadāna*, i, p. 67.

The Hemakūṭa region is also known as Kiṃpuruṣavarṣa, the land of the Kimpuruṣas, and the Haimavata region as Kinnarakhaṇḍa, the land of the Kinnaras.[1] Uttarakuru or northern continent, which is the romantic kingdom of Kuvera, is placed alike in the Pali texts and the *Mahābhārata* on the north side of Mount Sumeru.

According to Pali tradition, however, the Himalayan region extended to the north up to the Gandhamādana range. The Pali descriptions of the ranges and their setting are rather clumsy and far from systematic; these are moreover silent as to the existence of Harivarṣa and the rest. But as in the Purāṇas, so in the Jātakas the Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas and Vidyādharas are associated with the Himalayan mountains. Besides Nisabha (Niṣadha), the *Apadāna* names a few other mountains in the neighbourhood of the Himavanta: Kadamba (p. 382), Kukkura (p. 155, better Kukkuṭa, p. 178), Kosika (p. 381), Gotama (p. 162), Paduma (p. 362), Bhārika (p. 440), Bhūtagaṇa (p. 179), Lambaka (p. 15), Vasabha (Vṛṣabha, p. 166), Vikaṭa (p. 227), Samaṅga (p. 437) and Sobhita (p. 328). Of the lakes mentioned, the most important was, of course, the Anotatta or Mānas-sarovar, associated with the Kelāsa

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[1] Law, *Geographical Essays*, p. 119.

and Cittakūṭa peaks. The *Jaṁbudīva-paṇṇatti* seems right in suggesting that this really consisted of two lakes, each called Mahāpadma-hrada, one connected with the Kṣudrahimavanta or Western Himalayan range, and the other connected with the Mahāhimavanta or Eastern Himalayan range. Of the four rivers channelling out from this lake, Gaṅgā that flowed down southwards branched off into five main rivers of Majjhimadesa, Rohitā flowing eastwards may be identified with the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra, Sindhu flowing northwards with the Indus, and one flowing westwards with the Sutlej.

The Himalayan region was penetrated by the *tāpasas* (hermits), *vanacarakas*, *migaluddakas* (hunters), and kings on hunting expedition. The hermits and ascetics built many hermitages there. Some of the Jātakas and Apadānas contain most charming and romantic descriptions of the hermitages and of the fauna and flora that were really the fauna and flora of Jambudvīpa as a whole. The hollows in the mountains and hills served as dens for lions, tigers, etc. The beasts generally lived near about the rivers, lakes, and springs. The Pali works speak of four species of lions: (1) those resembling the cow, pigeon-coloured and eating grass; (2) black lions; (3) light yellow lions; and (4) those possessing a big mane. Among other members of the feline

species, mention is constantly made of *vyagghā* (ordinary tigers), *dīpī* (panthers), *taracchā* (hyenas), *acchā* or *bhallukā* (bears), *majjārā* (cats). These speak also of *kukkuras* or *sunakhas* (dogs). The *khaggā* or *palāsadā* (rhinoceros), *gavajā* (gayals), *usabhā* (bulls), *mahisā* (buffaloes) and diverse species of deer (*migā*)[1]: the *ruru*, *rohanta*, *tipallattha*, *citta*, *pasada*, *nigrodha*, *sākha*, *eṇi*, and the rest. We have mention also of *ajā* (goats) and *eḷakā* (rams). The Himalayan forests are said to have abounded in elephants living in herds or as rogues, distinguished as vāmanika (dwarfish), uccākaḷārikā, uccākaṇe-rukā, and chaddantā (six-tusked). The last-mentioned class are associated with the Chaddanta lake and noted for the high quality of the ivory. They contained horses (*assā*) of diverse breeds, the *sindhu* and *valāha* being the two best of them. They abounded also in such reptiles and *ajagarā* (pythons), *nāgā* or *sappā* (snakes) divided into four families of virūpakkha, erāpatha, chavyāputta and kaṇha. They do not fail also to refer to the water-snakes feeding on green frogs (*bhekā*) and *godhā* (iguanas). The rivers were habitats of *suṃsumārā* (porpoises and crocodiles), *kumbhīlā* (alligators), *makarā*, *ogāhā* and *tantiggāhā*. The rivers and lakes were full of fish: *pāṭhīnā*, *muñjarohitā*, *maggurā* and

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[1] *JRAS.*, 1888—Animals classed as deer in the Jātakas, p. 542.

the like, and *kuḷirakā* or *kakkaṭakā* (crabs, small and monstrous). The birds were numerous: *cakkavākā* (ruddy geese), *haṃsā*, *ravihaṃsā*, *kadambā* (*nīlahaṃsā*), *jīvamjivakā*, sweet-voiced *kokilā* and *karavikā*, *vakā* and *koñcā* (cranes, herons), *kosikā* (owls), *kālakannikā* (birds of ill omen), *kākā* (crows), *kapotā* or *pārevatā* (doves and pigeons), *kuṇālā*, *kurarā*, *supaṇṇā* or *garuḷā* (kites, eagles), *gijjhā* (vultures), *kakutthā* (phasianus gallus), *vaṭṭakā*, *laṭukikā*, *diṇḍibhā* (partridges), and above all, *sikhī* or *morā* (peacocks). Of the trees, mention may be made of *nigrodhā* (banyan), *assatthā* (peepul), *udumbarā* (fig), *amba* (mango), *jambu* (rose-apple), *panasa* (jackfruit), *sirīsa* (shorea robusta), *nāga* (mesua ferrea), *harītaka* (terminalia chebula), *āmalaka* (phyllanthus emblica), *vibhiṭaka* (terminalia belerica); of the creepers, *āsāvatīlatā*, *atimutta* (*mādhavīlatā*); of *kadali* (banana), *mātiluṅga* (citron); of the flower trees, *campaka*, *ketaka* (castus speciosus). The lakes were decked with the *uppala* (lilies, white, red and blue), *paduma* (lotus with one hundred petals) and *puṇḍarīkā* (lotus with one thousand petals).[1]

IV Uttarāpatha or Udīcya (North-western India): This part of India extended west and north-west from the Brahmin village of Thūṇa or from Pṛthudaka (modern Pehoa), that is to

[1] Law, *Apadāna* in *JBBRAS.*, xiii, 1937, p. 236; Barua, *Barhut*, iii, pp. 35, 586.

say, from a place near about Thaneswar. It was bounded on the north and west by the belt of the western Himalayan range called Kṣudra-himavanta reaching down to the Arabian sea. It may be said that the region of Uttarāpatha lay to the north of Aparānta and the west of the Buddhist Mid-land, and was watered by the Himalayan rivers forming the Indus group. Defined in these terms, the region may be taken as identical with what is called Udīcya in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, and approximately with Manu's Brahmāvarta and Brahmarṣideśa. The important *janapadas* that are referred in this Purāṇa to this region include, among others, Aparānta, Śūdra, Gāndhāra, Yavana, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Madra, Pārada, Kekaya, Kāmboja, Darada, Pahava, Barbara, Vāhlīka and Kāśmīra.[1] In Pali literature Kaṃsabhoga with Asitañjana as its capital,[2] Kasmīra-Gandhāra and Kamboja[3] are definitely placed in Uttarāpatha. According to Brahmanical tradition, the Kaṃsa-territory was the kingdom of Mathurā,[4] i.e., Sūrasena of which Mathurā was the capital in the time of Mahāvīra and Buddha. The Yona, Kamboja and Gandhāra are included,

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1 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Ch. 57.

2 *Jātaka*, iv, p. 79.

3 *Aṅguttara*, iv, pp. 252, 256, 260; *Vinaya*, iii, p. 6; *Samanta-pāsādikā*, Sinhalese ed., i, p. 179.

4 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 4th ed., p. 119.

as we saw, in some of the Pali canonical lists of important countries. These three are the countries that are referred in Aśoka's R.E. V to Aparānta or western end of Jambudvīpa, Gandhāra may be taken to have comprised the whole of the districts of Peshawar (Puruṣapura) and Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab. Its capital Takkasilā (modern Taxila) was both a centre of trade and an ancient seat of learning. According to the Jātakas, its distance from Benares was 2,000 leagues. Kasmīra is not other than the modern State of Kashmere and Jammu which lies to the east of Peshawar and Rawalpindi. The location of Yona and Kamboja is not finally settled. Evidently they must have been localities near about Kasmīra-Gandhāra. Other places mentioned in early Pali texts and to be included in Uttarāpatha are the countries of Vajirā,[1] Suddaka, Khuddaka, Madda, Alasanda, Pallava, Bāhika and Babbara.[2] Of these, the city of Vajirā is obviously no other than what finds mention in the *Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā* (p. 4) as Vajrāvatī and is placed in Uttarāpatha. The *Mahābhārata* (ix. 37.1) definitely locates the land of the Suddakas (Śūdrakas) in western Rajputana where the Sarasvatī disappears (yatra naṣṭā Sarasvatī). But the Greek historians place the

[1] *Buddhavaṃsa*, xxviii, 8; *Dīpavaṃsa*, p. 27.

[2] *Apadāna*, ii, p. 359.

Sodrai in the western part of the Punjab. The land of the Khuddakas (Sk. Kṣudrakā,[1] Greek Sudracae, Oxydrakai) which is placed in the Greek accounts between the Hydraotes (Ravi) and the Hyphasis (Bias), may be located in the district of Montgomery.[2] Madra was the country of the Sivis which had Sāgala (Sk. Sākala,[3] modern Sialkot) as its capital; the river Irāvatī flowed through it.[4] Alasanda (variant Allasanda) was a city in the Yona country which is mentioned in the *Mahāniddesa* as a centre of trade and commerce.[5] The Greek equivalent of the name would be Alexandria. In the *Milindapañha* Alasanda is described as a dīpa,[6] which has led scholars to suggest that it was 'an island in the Indus in the territory of Baktria'.[7] But according to Dr. Geiger, it was probably 'the town founded by the Macedonian king in the country of Paropanisadae near Kabul'.[8] The fact seems to be this that Alasanda was both the name of a country and its chief town. In the *Mahāniddesa* (pp. 155, 415) it is mentioned just after Yona

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1 *Mahābhārata*, ii, 52.15; vii, 68.9.
2 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
3 *Mahābhārata*, ii, 31.119.
4 *Matsya Purāṇa*, 114.7, 15–18.
5 *Mahāniddesa*, pp. 155, 415.
6 *Milinda*, pp. 82, 327, 331, 359.
7 Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, *S.B.E.*, i, p. xxiii.
8 *Mahāvaṃsa*, English translation, p. 194, f.n. 3.

and Paramayona. Further, it would seem that Sāgala which was formerly the capital of Madda became afterwards the capital of a Yona kingdom. The Pali texts also speak of the two lands of Sindhu and Sovīra, each of which is described as a great centre of trade and commerce. Here Sindhu, also mentioned as a kingdom, may be easily identified with the province of Sind on the Arabian sea. In the Mahāgovinda Suttanta Sovīra has been described as a kingdom with Roruka as its capital. It was probably situated between the Indus and Jhelum. The story of Serissaka in the Peta and Vimānavatthus definitely tells us that the way of the caravan merchants (Satthavāhā) from Aṅga and Magadha to Sindhu-Sovīra lay across a great desert, which was no other than the desert in Rajputana. Some rivers and ranges of hills had to be crossed with difficulty (nadiyo pana pabbatānaṃ ca duggā).[1] The desert is described in the Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka as a sandy desert, sixty leagues in extent (saṭṭhiyojanikaṃ marukantāraṃ).[2] Among the rivers that had to be crossed the commentary mentions the Candabhāgā (Chenab) by name.[3] Immediately after Allasanda and Marukantāra, the *Mahāniddesa* (pp. 155, 415)

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[1] *Vimānavatthu*, p. 78.

[2] *Jātaka*, i, p. 107; p. 109: *vaṇṇu vuccati vālukā, vālukāmagge ti attho.*

[3] *Vimānavatthu* commentary (vii, 10), p. 338.

introduces such places of importance from the point of view of trade and commerce as Jaṇṇupatha (corrected as Vaṇṇupatha), Ajapatha, Meṇḍapatha, Saṅkupatha, Chattapatha, Vaṃsapatha, Sakuṇapatha, Mūsikāpatha, Daripatha and Vettādhāra (variant Vettacara, Vettacāra). That the Vaṇṇu, Vettācara and Saṅkupatha are mentioned as roads (maggam) in the Serissaka Vimāna-story[1] has led Dr. Barua to suggest that these were originally names of different parts of Uttarāpatha taken in the sense of the north-western trade-route, and that like it they lent their names to the regions across which they lay.[2] These, as convincingly shown by Sylvain Levi and others, became subsequently connected with a trade-route connecting Suvarṇabhūmi with Suvarṇadvīpa.[3] But even on the evidence of Pāṇini's commentators who introduce some of these names[4] in connection with the Sūtra, v, 1.77: *Uttarapathenāhṛtañca*, it may be established that they were associated with a journey to and from Uttarāpatha.

The Pali Babbara is no other than Barbara which is associated in the *Mahābhārata* (xii,

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[1] *Vimānavatthu* commentary, vii, 10, p. 338.

[2] Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*.

[3] *Etudes Asiatiques*, ii, p. 45f.; R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, i, p. 56f.

[4] *Vāri-jaṅgala-sthala-kāntāraja-śaṅku-pūrvāc ca.*

207.43) with Yauna, Kamboja; Gandhāra and Kirāta and placed in Uttarāpatha. Babbara or Barbaricum is described in the *Periplus* as a market-town of Minnagara on the Erythræan sea.[1] Pallava may be identified with Pahlava (Parthia) in the *Mahābhārata* [2] and Bahika with Vāhīka.[3] The *Divyāvadāna* mentions a city by the name of Utpalavatī in Uttarāpatha,[4] which may be easily identified with Puṣkarāvatī or Puṣkalāvatī. Puṣkalāvatī (modern Parang and Chārsada, 17 miles north-east of Peshawar on the Swat river) was one of the two most important cities in Gandhāra.[5] Kekaka or Kekaya is another country with its capital of the same name which finds mention in the early Buddhist and Jaina texts. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (ii, 68.19–22; vii, 113.14), 'the Kekaya territory lay beyond the Vipāśā and abutted on the Gandharva or Gandhāra-viṣaya', and its 'metropolis was Rājagṛha'.[6] In the Jaina *Rāyapaseṇi*, Seyaviyā (Pali Setavyā) is described as a city in the kingdom of Kekaya,[7] while in the Pali canonical texts it is located in Kosala and on

[1] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 4th ed., p. 362.

[2] Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, p. 393f.

[3] Pāṇini, iv, 2.117 : *Vāhīka-grāmebhyaś ca.*

[4] *Divyāvadāna*, p. 470.

[5] *Rāmāyaṇa*, vii, 114.11; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88.189-90.

[6] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

[7] *Indian Antiquary*, 1891, p. 375; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

the high road[*] between Kapilavatthu and Sāvatthī.

The *Apadāna* mentions the Sindhu (Indus), Vitaṃsā (Vitastā), and Candabhāgā (Chenab) among the important rivers of Uttarāpatha, and points out that the Gaṅgā Bhāgīrasī (Bhāgīrathī) taking its rise in the Himalayas, flowed by the gate of Haṃsavatī, which was an ancient city in Uttarāpatha. The Amarikā was a river which flowed down from the foot of the Samaṅga mountain belonging to the Himalayan range.

V Aparānta or Paścāddeśa (Western India): This may be taken to represent that part of Western India which lay to the west of the Buddhist Mid-land and to the north and south respectively of the Dakkhiṇāpatha and Uttarāpatha. According to the *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā*, as we noted, the region extended westward from Devasabhā (identified with modern Dewas in the Central Indian States Agency). From the Buddhist definition of the Middle country it may be inferred that Aparānta extended westward from the western side of the kingdom of Vatsa. Bhagawanlal Indraji took Aparānta to be the western sea-board of India. The Bhoja and Rāṣṭra countries that are referred in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* to the Vindhya region are mentioned in Aśoka's R.E. V as examples of countries in Western India

(Aparānta). The *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā* mentions, among others, Devasabhā, Surāṣṭra, Bhṛgukaccha, Kaccha, Ānarta and Arbuda as representative countries of Aparānta. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* offers a longer list containing the names of such countries as Sūrpāraka, Kosala (South Kosala), Vidisā, Pulinda, Nāsika, Marukaccha (Bhṛgukaccha), Kaccha, Surāṣṭra and Avantī.[1] To them we may add Śūrasena and Matsya which may as well be referred to Uttarāpatha. According to Hiuen Tsang's account, Western India seems to have comprised 'Sindh, Western Rajputana, Cutch, Gujarat and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narmadā'.[2]

The most important among the countries in Aparānta was Avantī which formed one of the three maṇḍalas of Jambudīpa, the other two being Pācīna and Dakkhiṇāpatha.[3] It appears to have been divided by the river Vettavatī into north and south, the north having its capital at Ujjenī (modern Ujen), and the second at Māhissatī (Māhiṣmatī, later known as Gonaddha). It is probably the second part which has been described as Avantī Dakkhiṇāpatha.[4] Both

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[1] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57.

[2] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 690.

[3] Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, *S.B.E.*, ii, p. 250, f.n. 1.

[4] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures* (1918), p. 54.

Ujjenī and Māhissatī stood on the Southern High Road extending from Rājagaha to Patiṭṭhāna via Vesālī, Kapilavatthu,[1] Sāvatthī and Kosambī.[2]

Kuraraghara was a town in Avantī adjoining the Papātapabbata.[3] Among other localities, mention may be made of Ghanaselapabbata, Makkarakaṭa, Veḷugāma[4] and Sudassanapura.[5] The country or kingdom may be taken to have corresponded roughly to 'modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining parts of the Central Provinces'.[6] Vedisa or Vedisagiri (identified by Cunningham with the modern Bhilsa in the Gwalior State, 26 miles north-east of Bhopal) lay on the road to Ujjenī, at a distance of fifty yojanas from Pāṭaliputta.[7] Second in importance to Avantī was the kingdom or country of Sūrasena with Madhurā, Mathurā, modern Muttra on the right bank of the Yamunā as its capital. Sūrasena, often mentioned with Kaccha, is placed to the south of the Kuru country.[8] The way from Sāvatthī to Madhurā lay through an important locality called Verañjā.[9] Maccha (Sk. Matsya)

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1 *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 453; *ibid.*, 1898, p. 533.

2 *Sutta-nipāta*, v, 1011–13.

3 *Saṃyutta*, iii, pp. 9, 12; iv, p. 115f.; *Aṅguttara*, v, p. 46.

4 Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 935.

5 Law, *Geography*, p. 22.

6 Law, *Geography*, p. 22.

7 *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, p. 98.

8 Law, *Geography*, p. 20.

9 Malalasekera, ii, p. 930.

generally mentioned with Sūrasena is to be located to the south or south-west of Indapatta and to the south of Sūrasena. Its capital was Virāṭanagara (modern Bairāṭ) where a copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict was engraved. It may be supposed to have comprised the State of Jaipur and included the whole of the State of Alwar with a portion of Bharatpur.[1] Suraṭṭha was another important country in Aparānta which was watered by a river called Sātodikā.[2] Its capital was Girinagara (modern Girnar in Kathiawaḍ) containing as it does a whole set of Aśoka's Rock Edicts. The Sunāparanta or Aparānta is identified by the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar with the modern Konkan. Its capital was Suppāraka, a highly important sea-port on the Arabian sea, modern Sopārā in the district of Thānā near Bombay. The Bharukaccha (Sk. Bhṛgukaccha) was another very important sea-port town on the Arabian sea which is identified with the modern Broach in Kathiawaḍ and identical with the Barygaza of Ptolemy and the Periplus.[3] Bhoja, the territory of the Bhojaputtas, sixteen in number, may be identified with the modern Berar. The town of Satakaṇṇikā which is mentioned as the south-western boundary of the Buddhist Mid-land

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[1], [2] Law, *Geography*, 19, 59, 56-57.

[3] *Saṃyutta*, i, p. 61f.; *Jātaka*, i, p. 45; Law, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

has not been as yet identified. If this spelling of the name be correct, it may be taken to have represented the place of origin of the Śātakarṇis.

VI Dakkhiṇāpatha or Dākṣiṇātya (Deccan): This represents South India which, according to the *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā*, extended southward from Māhiṣmatī identified with Māndhātā on the Narmadā. According to the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, as we noted, it was the southern half of India to the south of the Vaitāḍhya or Vindhya range. From the Buddhist definition of the Mid-land, it appears that this part of Jambudīpa lay to the south of the river Salaḷavatī and the town of Satakaṇṇikā. The Godāvarī and Narmadā regions are definitely placed in Dakkhiṇāpatha. Besides the Nammadā and Godhāvarī, the early Pali texts mention these two rivers of South India: Kāvẹrī and Kaṇṇapeṇṇā (Sk. Kṛṣṇabeṇā).[1] The former is the famous river Kāverī which flowed into the sea through the Coḷa country of which we have a most patriotic description in the writings of Buddhadatta.[2] The Kaṇṇapeṇṇā was a river in the Mahiṃsaka country or Mysore.[3] Patiṭṭhāna (modern Paiṭhan) on the Godhāvarī is described as the southern terminus of the Southern High

[1] *Jātaka*, v, p. 162f.

[2] Buddhadatta's *Manuals*, PTS.

[3] Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, i, p. 498: 'At the bend of the river and near its source was the mountain Candaka'.

Road extending from Rājagaha.* It was situated near about the modern Pañcavaṭī at Nasik. On the banks of the Godhāvarī (Godāvarī) and at the point where it formed a doab stood the two Andhra kingdoms of Assaka (Sk. Aśvaka, Aśmaka) with its capital at Potali or Potana (Paudanya of the *Mahābhārata*, i, 77.47), and Aḷaka or Muḷaka, the latter standing to the north of the former.[1] The Pali texts speak also of Kolapaṭṭana which was a harbour, probably on the Coromandel coast.[2] In the *Apadāna* (ii, pp. 358-59) we have mention of the Andhaka (Andhra) and Damiḷa (Drāviḍa) countries. Siddhattha, Rājagiri, Pubbasela and Aparasela were all localities near about the Andhaka seat of power,[3] i.e., in the neighbourhood of Dhanakaṭaka or Amarāvatī. The Damiḷa territories, as represented in the Pali chronicles, included the countries of Coḷa with Kañcīpura (modern Conjeeveram) as its capital, Pāṇḍya with Madhurasuttapaṭṭana (modern Madoura) as its chief town, and Kerala (Chera [4]) which was no other than Aśoka's Keralaputra. Kaliṅga finds mention in several texts both as a

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[1] *Sutta-nipāta*, verse 1011.

[2] *Milindapañha*, p. 359.

[3] *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, quoted in 'Points of Controversy', pp. 5, 104; Law, *The Debates Commentary* (PTS), p. 62f.

[4] *Cūlavaṃsa*, liii, 9; lv, 5, 12. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *South Indian Culture* (*The Cultural Heritage of India*, III, p. 71).

kingdom and a country with its capital at Dantapura (Pālura of a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription), situated near Chicacole on the Bay of Bengal. But the Apadāna (ii, pp. 358-59) mentions at the same time Oḍḍa (Oḍra) and Okkala (Sk. Utkala) representing two distinct parts of Orissa. The Mekala country which finds mention in the *Apadāna* was probably a tract of land comprising the modern Amarakaṇṭaka hills and adjoining locality. The Telavāha is mentioned in the *Jātaka* (i, p. 111) as a river in the Serivaraṭṭha near Andhapura.

Chapter II

KINGS AND PEOPLES

The *Dīgha Nikāya* contains this prophecy of the Buddha that when the advent of the future Buddha, Metteyya, will take place on earth, 'Jambudīpa will be pervaded by mankind even as a jungle is by reeds and rushes'.[1] The 'teeming millions of India' is indeed an oft-recurring phrase of the present day. In dealing with the peoples of Jambudvīpa we are not, however, to deal with the teeming millions of India as such but only as divided into various tribes or nations ruling themselves or being ruled by kings. By way of a general description of the ninth dvīpa of the Bhāratavarṣa, i.e., of India proper, the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* locates the Kirātas in the eastern (better, north-eastern) extremity, the Yavanas in the western (better, north-western),[2] and the rest of the peoples in the remaining parts of India.

As for the Himalayan region, the Purāṇas refer the Kinnaras to the Haimavatavarṣa, the Kimpuruṣas to the Hemakūṭavarṣa and the Yakṣas to some regions, the main home of the

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1 *Dīgha*, iii, p. 75.

2 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Chap. 57: Pūrve kirātā yasyānte, paścime Yavanāḥ smṛtāḥ.

Yakṣas being Uttarakuru or Northern continent forming the kingdom of Kuvera Vaiśravaṇa. The Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas and Yakṣas [1] figure as semi-human beings, the first two representing the two branches of one and the same stock of people. This is in substance and details the description of them as offered in the early texts of Buddhism.

The words, Kinnara and Kimpurisa, are employed in Pali, precisely as in Sanskrit, as synonyms.[2] According to the *Amarakoṣa*, the Kinnaras or Kimpuruṣas have a human form which is ugly because of having a face like that of a horse, and are, therefore, known also as aśvamukhāḥ or turaṅgavadanā; the heavenly musician, Tumbaru, belongs to the race of Kinnaras or Kimpuruṣas.[3] In Pali, on the other hand, the heavenly musician is represented by Pañcasikha who belongs to a class of demigods called Gandhabbā. As the Kinnaras or Kimpurisas figure in the Pali Jātakas, they were rather of a human or infrahuman race [4] than of a suprahuman origin. Like the deer, they

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[1] Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 59-60.

[2] *Jātaka*, iv, p. 252f.

[3] *Amarakoṣa*, Svargavarga, 71: *Kinnaraḥ Kiṃpuruṣas turaṅgavadano mayuḥ*.

[4] *Jātaka*, iv, p. 252: Na-y-ime devā na pi Gandhabbaputtā, migā ime tiracchānagatā; iv, p. 439: migā manussā vā nibhāsavaṇṇā, 'animals in a human form'.

lived on leaves, flowers and frúits of trees [1] and put on garments of leaves or of flowers.[2] They preferred to live in a beautiful hilly region along the banks of rivers, dwelling on the summit of hills during the rains and on the river banks during summer.[3] They were timorous and shy by their nature, particularly afraid of the currents of water (udakabhītā). They were very playful, amusing and enchanting, fond of music and noted for their romantic conjugal love and fidelity.[4] They were to be found in all the Himalayan ranges up to the Gandhamādana.[5] To the hunters they were known as Kimpurisas.[6] They possessed excellent health and their span of life was one hundred years.[7]

The Yavanas who are assigned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* to the north-western extremity of India are known as Yonas in Pali [8] and Yaunas in the Great Epic.[9] The Yonas are grouped, precisely as in Aśoka's Rock Edicts,[10]

[1, 2] *Jātaka.*, iv, pp. 283, 286.

[3] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 283: Candapabbatavāsino Kinnarā vassārattasamaye anotaritvā pabbate yeva vasanti, nidāghe otaranti.

[4] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 439.

[5] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 438f.: Mallamgiriṃ Paṇḍarakaṃ Tikūṭaṃ sītodiyā anuvicarāma najjo; *Apadāna*, i, p. 165f.: Candabhāgānadītīre ahosiṃ kinnaro tadā | pupphabhakko . . . pupphānaṃ vasano||

[6] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 439: jānanti no Kimpurisā ca luddā.

[7] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 441.

[8] *Majjhima*, ii, p. 149.

[9] *Mahābhārata*, xii, 207.43.

[10] *R.E.*, V and XIII.

with the Kambojas and Gandhāras. As for the Yonas, they were originally the people who came from Ionia. But the Macedonian and Bactrian Greeks, too, have been represented by the same name in all branches of Indian literature. The Yonas mentioned in the canonical Pali texts together with the Kambojas and Gandhāras may be presumed to have settled down subsequently in the extreme north-western part of India retaining their old customs and manners and maintaining their old religious beliefs. That they tried to maintain their separate entity as a people in these two respects is well attested by the evidence of all literary and epigraphical documents.[1]

In the Epics [2] as well as in some of the later Buddhist texts,[3] the Yavanas are associated with the Śakas. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (iv, 43.11-12), as pointed out by Dr. Raychaudhuri, the Yavanas are placed between the country of the Kurus and the Madras, and the Himalayas.[4] The Bactrian king Milinda is said to have been born in a village in the island of Alasanda (Alexandria) with which the memory of the Yonas as Macedonian Greeks remained associated.[5] The

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[1] *Majjhima*, ii, p. 149.

[2] *Rāmāyaṇa*, iv, 43.11-12; *Mahābhārata*, i, 54.21.

[3] E.g., the *Mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra*.

[4] *Political History*, 4th ed., p. 3.

[5] Kalasigāma is the name of the locality mentioned in the *Milindapañha*, p. 83.

Yonas or Yonakas as Bactrian Greeks founded principalities in this very region of India establishing their suzerainty even over Mathurā [1] in the south-east and over Surāṣṭra [2] and Besnagar (Vessanagara near Vedisa).[3] When the Śakas (Scythians) invaded Uttarāpatha and established themselves there, the Yonas or Bactrians and other Greeks appear to have made political and matrimonial alliances with them.

The Yonas as the Ionian Greek settlers figure in Asokan records, precisely as in the Pali Suttas, as semi-independent or independent tribes. But the Yonas as the Bactrian Greeks were all along ruled by the monarchs of their own. They adhered, in their official documents at least, not only to their national language (Yavana-bhāsā) but also to their national alphabet (Yavana-lipī).

The *Mahābhārata* (xii, 207.43) introduces the Kāmbojas (Pali Kambojas) along with the Yaunas, Gandhāras, Kirātas and Barbaras as peoples of Uttarāpatha (Uttarāpathajanmānaḥ). The constant association of them with the Gandhāras and Yaunas in the Great Epic, the Pali texts and the early Indian inscriptions

1 Cf. Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela: Madhuraṃ apayāto Yavana-rājā.

2 Cf. Junagarh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I.

3 Cf. Besnagar Garuḍa-pillar Inscription of Heliodoros.

may be taken to suggest that they settled down and founded their territory somewhere near Gandhāra. According to the *Mahābhārata* (vii, 4.5), they had undoubtedly their capital at Rājapura,[1] a place which Hiuen Tsang locates to the south or south-east of Punach.[2] Dr. Raychaudhuri points out that the western boundaries of their territory must have reached Kafiristan in which district the three distinct tribes, namely, Caumojee, Camoze and Camoje remind us of the Kambojas.[3] Their country stood evidently on a trade-route connecting it with Dvārakā.[4] It was the habitat of good horses (assānaṃ āyatanaṃ).[5] As described in the Pali Assalāyana Sutta, the Yonas and Kambojas had the same kind of social organisation.[6] The Kambojas were considered barbarous.[7] They had an independent or semi-independent tribal form of government.

The Jaina canonical texts mention the Cirātas (Pali and Sk. Kirātas) as a people without any details about them. In one of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions, the Cirātas are associated

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1 Rājapuraṃ gatvā Kāmbojā nirjitā-stvayā.

2 Watters, *op. cit.*, i, 284.

3 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 4th ed., p. 126; *JRAS.*, 1912, p. 255.

4 *Petavatthu*, p. 23.

5 *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 124.

6 *Majjhima*, ii, p. 149.

7 *Jātaka*, vi, pp. 208, 210.

with the Cīnas.[1] The *Apadāna* speaks of the Cīnas and Babbaras, the former being described as a people who came to Haṃsavatī on the Ganges from a distant land (ārā va Cīnaraṭṭhā ca āgacchanti).[2] The Barbaras and Kirātas are placed in the Great Epic in the Uttarāpatha along with the Yaunas, Kāmbojas and Gāndhāras.[3] The Kirātas find mention in the Pali commentaries as 'a tribe of jungle men'. Their dialect is 'classed with those of the Oṭṭas (Oḍḍas), the Andhakas, the Yonakas and the Damiḷas'. These are all recorded as languages of the Milakkhas [4] (Milakkhānaṃ bhāsā) that were thirteen in number [5] according to the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*. From Pali and Sanskrit sources it may be concluded that the Kirātas had their settlements not only in the north-east and north-west extremities of Northern India but also in other parts of India.

The Gandhāras after whom the land where they settled down was named were one of the ancient peoples of India—the Gandhāris mentioned in the Vedas.[6] In the Purāṇas they are described as descendants of the Druhyas, who were, according to the Vedic tradition, a north-

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1 *E.I.*, vol. xx, Pt. I.

2 *Apadāna*, ii, pp. 358-359.

3 *Mahābhārata*, xii, 207.43.

4 *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 176.

5 Eighteen, according to the *Sammohavinodanī*, p. 388.

6 *Ṛgveda*, i, 126.7; *Atharvaveda*, v, 22.14.

western people. In the Jātakas and the Great Epic, Gandhāra is described as a kingdom with Takkasilā (Sk. Takṣaśilā) as its capital and Puṣkalāvatī or Puṣkarāvatī or Utpalāvatī as one among its other chief towns. The Kumbhakāra Jātaka preserves the tradition of Naggaji (Sk. Nagnajit), a famous ancient king of Gandhāra, who was a contemporary of Nimi, king of Videha, Dummukha, king of Pañchāla,[1] and Bhīma, king of Vidabbha,[2] and Karaṇḍu or Karakaṇḍu, king of Kaliṅga. In a few other instances the rulers of Gandhāra are introduced simply as Gandhārarājā.[3] Situated at a vulnerable point of attacks from the south-east, south-west and north-west, Gandhāra passed hands several times, retaining its independence from time to time. It was conquered once by king Janamejaya of Kuru, while in the latter half of the 6th century B.C., it became included in the empire of Darius, the Achaemenid king of Iran.[4] We are told by Buddhaghosa that king Pukkusāti was reigning in Gandhāra as a contemporary of king Bimbisāra of Magadha, and that there was a friendly relation between them.[5] At the time of Alexander's

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1 Cf. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, xviii, p. 45; *Jātaka*, iii, p. 377.

2 *Aitareya Br.*, vii, 34.

3 *Jātaka*, i, p. 191; ii, p. 219; iii, p. 364; iv, p. 98.

4 See Behistun inscription of Darius.

5 *Papañcasūdanī* (Sinhalese ed.), ii, 982.

invasion of India in B.C. 327, the kingdom was ruled over by Taxiles (Tākṣaśilā) who was succeeded by his son Mophis or Omphis (Sk. Āmbhi). As the *Divyāvadāna*[1] and Aśoka's Rock Edicts (V and XIII) attest, Gandhāra was included in the Maurya empire, the Gandhāras as a people enjoying some degree of independence along with their neighbours, the Yonas and Kambojas. According to the *Mahāniddesa* (vol. i, p. 154), Takkasilā was one of the great centres of trade, while the Ṛgveda bears testimony to the good wool of the sheep of the Gandhāris. The local script of the Gandhāras was Kharoṣṭhī which was in use in that part of Eastern Turkistan where the people of Gandhāra founded a colony.

The Maddas (Sk. Madras) as a people founded their territory in the central Punjab with Sāgala or Śākala (modern Sialkot) as their capital. Sāgala was the capital of king Milinda (Menander) when he ruled over the kingdom of Madda. The Maddas find mention not only in the Jātakas and Epics but also in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. This Vedic text (viii, 14.3) speaks of the Uttarakuravas and Uttaramadras as two peoples who had established a special kind of sovereignty called *vairājya* and lived in countries beyond the Himavanta. The existence of an

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[1] *Divyāvadāna*, p. 61.

Uttaramadda side by side with that of Uttarakuru is proved also by the Pali commentaries that tell us that the queen of a king overlord is a princess either from Uttarakuru or from the royal house of Madda.[1] Thus we are led to think that, like the Kurus, the Maddas were originally a trans-Himalayan people. As in their original home, so when they migrated to India, they settled down in the Punjab as neighbours of the Kurus. Even their Indian territory which is strictly speaking the southern Madda was equally noted for the beauty of their women (Maddaraṭṭhaṃ nāma itthāgāro).[2] We have mention in the Jātakas and in the Epics of matrimonial alliances between the royal house of Madda on one side and those of Sivi, Kuru, Kāśī, Kośala and Kaliṅga [3] on the other, in each instance, the princess belonging to the former. The Maddas lived under a monarchical form of government and their capital Sāgala was an emporium of trade and one of the most flourishing cities.[4]

The Kekayas, Kekakas or Kekas find mention in the Jātakas as one of the ancient peoples of

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[1] *Papañcasūdanī*, ii, p. 950; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, ii, p. 626; *Paramatthajotikā*, I, p. 173.

[2] *Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā*, ii, p. 142; *Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā*, p. 68.

[3] Law, *Geography*, p. 54. According to the *Mahābhārata*, the mother of Janamejaya, king of Kuru, and according to the *Ramāyāṇa*, one of the three queens of king Daśaratha of Kośala, were princesses from the Royal House of Madra.

[4] *Milindapañha*, pp. 1-2.

India who evidently founded two territories, one in Uttarāpatha and the other in Mahiṃsakaraṭṭha. In the Purāṇas they are mentioned as one of the three septs of the family of Anu, son of Yayāti, the other two being represented by the Uśīnaras and the Madras.[1] According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Kekayas of Uttarāpatha settled down in a territory between the Vipāśā (Beas) and the kingdom of Gandharva or Gandhāra.[2] Their capital was Rājagṛha or Girivraja which is identified by Cunningham with Girjāk or Jalalpur on the Jhelum. The name of their capital is not met with in the Vedic texts. According to the Jātaka tradition, the kingdom and capital of the Kekayas were named Kekaka after them, their capital ranking among the three principal cities in Jambudīpa, the other two being Uttarapañcāla and Indapatta.[3] The Sarabhaṅga and Saṅkicca Jātakas preserve the tradition of Ajjuna, a very powerful but wicked king of the Kekayas in the Mahiṃsakaraṭṭha.[4] It is probable that the Kekaya kings mentioned in some of the Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions were descendants of the Kekayas who founded a kingdom

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[1] *Matsya*, 48.10–20; *Vāyu*, 99.12–23; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 4th ed., p. 53.

[2] *Rāmāyaṇa*, ii, 67.7; ii, 68.22.

[3] *Jātaka*, ii, p. 213.

[4] *Ibid.*, v, pp. 145, 273.

in the Deccan. The *Rāmāyaṇa* speaks of a matrimonial alliance between the royal houses of Kośala and Kekaya in Uttarāpatha. We learn from Jain sources that one half of the Kekaya kingdom was Aryan and the Kekaya city was known as Seyaviyā.[1]

The Sivis are mentioned in the Jātakas as another ancient people of India who settled down in Uttarāpatha. There is a discrepancy between Sivi and Vessantara Jātakas, as regards the name of the capital of their kingdom, the former calling it Ariṭṭhapura [2] and the latter Jetuttara.[3] The fact seems to be that the two Jātakas speak of two different kingdoms, one with its capital at Ariṭṭhapura and the other with Jetuttara as its chief town. The second territory is placed to the south of the Cetaraṭṭha at a distance of thirty yojanas. Just to the north of the city of Jetuttara stood a mountain called Suvaṇṇagiritāla. Between this mountain in the south and the mountain, Arañjaragiri, in the north, flowed a river by the name of Kontimārā. The way from Jetuttara to the Vaṅka mountain in the Himavanta lay through the Cetaraṭṭha across the river Kontimārā.[4] The Nimi Jātaka mentions a king named Usīnara

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1 *Indian Antiquary*, 1891, p. 375.
2 *Jātaka*, iv, 401; v, 210; vi, 419.
3 *Ibid.*, vi, p. 480.
4 *Ibid.*, vi, p. 514.

and his son Śivi without giving any hint as to their connection with the Sivi people or kingdom.[1] The connection is made clear in the *Mahābhārata* (iii, 130.131) which definitely speaks of a Sivi kingdom ruled by king Uśīnara, 'which lay not far from the Yamunā'.[2] Patañjali in his comment on Pāṇini's rule (iv, 2.2), mentions a locality in the north-western India by the name of Śivapura which is apparently the same place as Śivipura mentioned in a Shorkot inscription.[3] Thus we may agree with Dr. Vogel in thinking that the Shorkot region was once the site of a city of the Śivis. The people of this part of Uttarāpatha were known to the Greek historians as Siboi, equipped with 40,000 foot-soldiers at the time of Alexander's invasion, dressing themselves with the skins of wild beasts and having clubs for their weapons.[4]

The Khuddakas (Greek Sudracœ or Oxydrakai, Sk. Kṣudrakā), Suddakas (Greek Sodrai), Rohanas and Sindhavas are four other tribes or peoples of Uttarāpatha who find mention in the *Apadāna* (ii, p. 359). Of them, the first founded a territory between the Hydraotes (Ravi) and Hyphasis (Bias), and

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1 *Jātaka*, vi, p. 95f.

2 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 4th ed., p. 205.

3 *E.I.*, 1921, p. 16.

4 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 4th ed., p. 204.

figured as 'one of the most numerous and warlike of all the Indian tribes in the Punjab' at the time of Alexander's invasion. The second is invariably associated in the Great Epic (vii, 19.6; ix, 37.1) with the Ābhīras who lived near the Sarasvatī. Apart from their association with the Sindhavas in the *Apadāna*, nothing further is as yet known of the Rohanas as a tribe or people. They were probably the Indian people in Uttarāpatha who formed a settlement in Ceylon 'comprising the south-eastern part of the island', though, according to the chronicles of Ceylon, the kingdom of Rohaṇa was founded by a Sakyan prince.[1] The Sindhavas, as their name implies, were a tribe or people who settled down in a valley of the Indus and founded a territory which has been known as Sindhu or Sind. This territory is constantly associated in the early Pali texts with that of the Sauvīras between the Indus and the Jhelum.

The Kurus are described by Buddhaghosa as a people who had migrated in large numbers from Uttarakuru to Jambudvīpa and founded a kingdom which was named Kuru after them.[2] The Kuru kingdom which was 300 leagues in extent comprised several districts, towns and villages, and its capital, Indapatta (Sk. Indraprastha near the modern Delhi) was seven

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[1] *Mahāvaṃsa*, ix, 10.

[2] *Papañcasūdanī*, i, 184.

leagues in circuit. Hastināpura (Pali Hatthipura),[1] known, in earlier times as Āsandīvat, appears to have been the earlier capital. On this point Dr. Raychaudhuri observes: 'The evidence of the Vedic texts and that of the Purāṇas can be reconciled if we assume that, after the death of Janamejaya, the Kuru kingdom was split up into several parts. One part, which had its capital at Hastināpura, was ruled by the direct descendants of Janamejaya himself. Another part was ruled by the descendants of his brother Kakṣasena. The junior branch probably resided at Indraprastha or Indapatta . . . . which probably continued to be the seat of kings claiming to belong to the Yudhiṭṭhilagotta (Yudhiṣṭhira-gotra), long after the destruction of Hastināpura, and the removal of the elder line of Kuru kings to Kausāmbī'.[2] It is, however, difficult to reconcile such an assumption as this with the Jātaka tradition, according to which, Ajjuna or Dhanañjaya Koravya of the stock of Yudhiṭṭhila, with Vidhurapaṇḍita as his wise counsellor, reigned in the Kuru country when its capital was at Indapatta.[3] On the other hand, the Kuṇāla Jātaka preserves a tradition of the five Pāṇḍava brothers (Paṇḍurājaputtā), Ajjuna,

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[1] *Apadāna*, ii, p. 359.

[2] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 4th ed., pp. 37-38.

[3] *Jātaka*, v, p. 57f.; vi, p. 255.

Nakula, Bhīmaséna, Yudhiṭṭhila and Sahadeva, all of whom were chosen as husbands at the same time by Kaṇhā (Sk. Kṛṣṇā, another name for Draupadī according to the Great Epic), the only daughter and only child of the king of Kāśī. It speaks of them without reference to any kingdom and applies the epithet of *rājā* only to Sahadeva. The Jātakas have nothing to say with regard to the war of the Pāṇḍavas with the Kauravas. They tell us nothing also about the matrimonial alliance of the Pāṇḍavas with the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis or Yādavas. Evidently the Kuru king Ajjuna of the family of Yudhiṭṭhila had nothing to do with Ajjuna and Yudhiṭṭhila among the five Pāṇḍava brothers. In the *Mahāvaṃsa* (vii, 50, 69, 72), by the term Paṇḍurājā is meant the king of Pāṇḍya in South India with Madhurā (modern Madoura) as its capital. The Jātakas are silent as to the connection of Paṇḍurājā, the ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas, with any kingdom in Northern or Southern India having Madhurā for its capital. They are eloquent in praise of king Ajjuna during whose reign the Kuru country was an ideal kingdom, ruled most righteously and noted for virtue.[1] His family chaplain was a Brahmin of pure conduct by the name of Sucīrata and

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[1] Cf. *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (No. 276), Dhūmakārī (413), Sambhava (515), Vidhurapaṇḍita (545).

he alone seems to have deserved the epithet of Koravya.[1]

It seems that the next king in the line of Ajjuna was Sutasoma who is introduced as the son of king Koravya of the Kuru realm and who became so very fond of eating human flesh that he was compelled at last to abdicate his throne and walk out of his realm.[2]

When the Kuru country included in it Uttarapañcāla, a king by the name of Reṇu reigned in the city of Uttarapañcāla, and Prince Somanassa was his son.[3]

There was a time when Kuru, Pañcāla and Kekaya were 'three of the most powerful kingdoms' in Jambudvīpa.[4] But in the Buddha's time the Kuru country was being ruled only by a titular chieftain called Koravya, and evidently had very little political importance of its own.[5] The people of Kuru continued nevertheless to enjoy their ancient reputation for deep wisdom and sound health.[6]

The Pañcālas founded a kingdom contiguous to that of the Kurus. The Pañcāla country was divided by the Ganges into two parts, Uttara and Dakkhiṇa, each forming a kingdom

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1 *Jātaka*, iv, p. 361.
2 *Ibid.*, v, p. 457f.
3 *Ibid.*, iv, p. 444f.
4 *Ibid.*, ii, p. 214.
5 *Majjhima*, ii, p. 65f.
6 *Papañcasūdanī*, i, p. 184f.

by itself. Like the Jātakas, the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Mahābhārata* speak of the two divisions of their realm. According to the Kumbhakāra Jātaka, when king Dummukha, a contemporary of king Naggaji of Gandhāra, reigned in Uttarapañcāla, its capital was Kampilla (Sk. Kāmpilya),[1] while according to the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 435), at one time its capital was Hastināpura, the well-known chief city of the Kurus. The *Mahābhārata*, on the other hand, definitely mentions Kāmpilya as the capital of Dakṣiṇapañcāla, and Ahicchatrā or Chatravatī as that of the Uttara. According to the Great Epic, the division of the Pañcāla kingdom into Northern and Southern was effected in fulfilment of a treaty between the king of Pañcāla and that of Kuru, after the former had been snatched away by the latter. The fact, however, seems to be that the two peoples were on a state of war with each other from time to time, at one time the Pañcālas annexing a portion of the Kuru country to their realm, and at another, the Kurus establishing their supremacy over the northern division of Pañcāla.[2] At all events, the Somanassa Jātaka definitely states that once upon a time Uttarapañcāla was included in the Kuru realm.[3]

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[1] *Jātaka*, iii, 379.

[2] Law, *Geography*, p. 18f.

[3] *Jātaka*, iv, p. 444.

In the Jātakas we have mention of three other kings of Pañcāla, namely, one whose son was the valiant prince Jayaddisa;[1] secondly, Brahmadatta who oppressed his subjects with taxes and tyranny;[2] and thirdly, Cūḷaṇi Brahmadatta who partly succeeded in subduing the then king of Videha by a well-plotted stratagem.[3] King Cūḷaṇi Brahmadatta finds mention in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (i, 32), the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (xiii, 1) and the *Svapnavāsavadattā* (Act V). Even in the Buddha's time Pañcāla was being ruled by a king of its own, although like the Kuru realm, it lost its political importance. If it be correct to think that the Pañcālas were originally the same people as the Krivis who find mention in the Vedic texts, we can say that they settled at first on the Sindhu and the Asikni (Cḥenāb) and that their country was divided as Western and Eastern instead of Northern and Southern.[4]

In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, as noted before, the country of Maccha (Sk. Matsya) is included, together with its people, in the traditional list of sixteen mahājanapadas. In this and other Pali lists the Macchas as a people are usually associated with the Sūrasenas, while in the Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka they are said to have witnessed the contest at a game of dice between

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1 *Jātaka*, v, p. 21f.
2 *Ibid.*, v, p. 98f.
3 *Ibid.*, vi, p. 394.
4 *Vedic Index*, i, p. 469.

the Kuru king Dhanañjaya or Ajjuna and Puṇṇaka the Yakkha. This may lead one to think that the Macchas had formed an alliance with their neighbours, the Kurus and the Sūrasenas. According to the *Mahābhārata*, the Matsya country was then ruled by king Virāṭa who was an ally of the Kurus. Its capital Virāṭanagara was evidently named after king Virāṭa of the Epic fame. The Macchas as a people had no political importance in the Buddha's time.

Over and above the usual association of the Sūrasenas (Sk. Śūrasenas, Greek Sourasenoi) in the Pali canonical lists of the mahājanapadas, the Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka speaks of an occasion when the Sūrasenas were present in the Kuru court in the city of Indapatta along with the Macchas, Maddas and Pañcālas. If any historical inference is to be drawn from these combinations, it would be that they were all neighbours and that their realms stood close to one another. Their capital, Madhurā (Sk. Mathurā) on the right bank of the Yamunā stood midway between Indapatta and Kosambī on the same river. Strictly speaking, it is the Uttaramadhurā which is identified with Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the present town of Mathurā or Muttra.[1] From Saṃkissa (Sk.

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[1] Law, *Geography*, pp. 20-21.

Saṃkāśya) on the Ganges the distance of Northern Madhurā is said to have been four yojanas only.[1] According to the Ghata Jātaka, once upon a time king Mahāsāgara reigned in Uttaramadhurā.[2] He had two sons, Sāgara and Upasāgara of whom the former succeeded his father to the throne and the latter became the uparājā or viceroy. Mahāsāgara's contemporary was king Mahākaṃsa of Kaṃsabhoga[3] in Uttarāpatha with his capital at Asitañjana, a place which has not as yet been identified. Mahākaṃsa was succeeded to the throne by his elder son, Kaṃsa, whose younger brother Upakaṃsa became his viceroy. There was a matrimonial alliance between the royal houses of Uttaramadhurā and Kaṃsabhoga, Prince Upasāgara marrying Kaṃsa brothers' sister Devagabbhā (Sk. Devakī) who became the mother of Vāsudeva, his nine brothers and one sister. Among the contemporaries of Sāgara and Kaṃsa, the Ghata Jātaka mentions the name of Kālasena who was at that time reigning in the city of Ayojjhā (Sk. Ayodhyā), which was undoubtedly the earlier capital of Kośala. The village of Govaḍḍhana (Sk. Govardhana) in the

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[1] Kaccāyana's *Pali Grammar*, edited by S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Book III, Ch. I, p. 157.

[2] *Jātaka*, iv, p. 81.

[3] It is difficult to agree with Malalasekera in thinking that Kaṃsabhoga or Kaṃsabhoja was probably the same country as Kamboja.

kingdom of Kaṃsa was offered to Upasāgara as a wedding present. In the Buddha's time the ruler of the Sūrasenas, as his name implies, was a prince born of a princess married by the king of Sūrasena from the royal house of Avantī.[1] When Megasthenes wrote about the Sūrasenas, their country must have been included in the Maurya empire, and after the Mauryas, their capital Madhurā came under the sway of the Bactrian Greeks and the Kuṣāṇas. Whether their country formed a Śuṅga dominion or not is still a disputed point. The memory of the Sūrasenas as a people remains associated with a distinct form of Prākrit dialects named Śaurasenī after them or their country.

The Ghata Jātaka seems to present a distorted version of the legend of Vāsudeva and his brothers, described as *Andhakaveṇhudāsaputtā dasabhātikā*, the ten brothers who passed as the sons of Andhakaviṣṇu, husband of Nandagopā, their foster-mother. In it Vāsudeva is otherwise called Kaṇha (Sk. Kṛṣṇa) and Kesava (Sk. Keśava), which is quite compatible with the account given in the Great Epic and the Purāṇas. It records the names of Vāsudeva's nine brothers as Baladeva, Candadeva, Suriyadeva, Aggideva, Varuṇadeva, Ajjuna, Pajjuna (Sk. Pradyumna), Ghatapaṇḍita and Aṅkura. The

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[1] *Majjhima*, ii, p. 83f.

first child of their mother Devagabbhā (Devakī) was a daughter named Añjanādevī. Devagabbhā is represented as the sister of king Kaṃsa whom the *Jātaka* connects with Kaṃsabhoga instead of Madhurā. The ten brothers who grew up as powerful wrestlers and valiant warriors became ambitious to establish their paramount sovereignty over the whole of Jambudvīpa. The first kingdom they seized was that of Uttaramadhurā. Next they directed their attention to Kaṃsabhoga. After making themselves masters of Kaṃsabhoga, and gradually defeating and killing the kings of sixty-three thousand realms, they began to reign in the city of Dvāravatī or Dvārakā which stood on the sea and had a hill by its side. They divided their empire into ten dominions that were allotted to the ten brothers, the youngest brother parting with his share in favour of their sister Añjanādevī. The sons of the ten brothers perished by the curse of the sage Kaṇhadīpāyana whom they had insulted and killed, and they themselves met with a tragic end, the account of which is in substance the same as that given in the Mausalaparva of the Great Epic. But according to the Mahāummagga Jātaka, Vāsudeva's son, Sivi, by a Caṇḍāla woman, named Jambāvatī, continued to reign in Dvāravatī.[1]

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[1] *Jātaka*, vi, p. 421.

The Pali Andhakaveṇhu, offered as the personal name of Vāsudeva brothers' foster-father, is only a wrong Prakrit form of the Sk. Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis who represented two out of the four branches of the Sātvatas, the other two being the Daivāvṛdhas and the Mahābhojas. The Sātvatas themselves were one of the septs of the Yādavas. According to the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, the ruling family of Mathurā belonged to the race of Yadu. Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva and his brothers were Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis or Yādavas. The connection of Kṛṣṇa with the land of the Sūrasenas is confirmed also by the Greek writers who mention Methora (Mathurā) and Cleisobora (Kṛṣṇapura) as two of their important cities. Dr. Raychaudhuri rightly observes: 'The Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis are referred to in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (iv, 1.114; vi, 2.34). In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* the Vṛṣṇis are described as a Saṅgha, i.e., a republican corporation. The *Mahābhārata*, too, refers to the Vṛṣṇis, Andhakas and other associate tribes as a Saṅgha (xii, 81.25) and Vāsudeva as a Saṅgha-mukhya.'[1]

The early Jaina and Buddhist texts have very little to say regarding the Avantīs as a people. According to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta, when the empire of Reṇu, probably a powerful

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[1] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 4th ed., p. 118.

Videhan king, was divided into seven sub-kingdoms, the kingdom of Avantī fell to the share of Vessabhū, counted as one of the seven contemporary kings of the line of Bharata.[1] Māhissatī (Sk. Māhiṣmatī) was then the capital of this kingdom. But the Pali canonical texts mention Ujjenī (Sk. Ujjayinī) as the capital of Caṇḍapajjota, the king of Avantī in the time of Mahāvīra and the Buddha. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar seeks to account for this discrepancy by the assumption that the country of the Avantīs was divided into two kingdoms, one placed in the Dakkhiṇāpatha having Māhissatī for its capital, and the other, i.e., the northern kingdom having its capital at Ujjenī.[2] This explanation has not so far been disputed.

As for the Avantīs as a people, the *Matsya Purāṇa* counts them among the five branches of the Haihayas, the other four being represented by the Vītihotras, Bhojas, Kuṇḍikeras or Tuṇḍikeras and Tālajaṅghas.[3] According to the *Matsya* [4] and *Vāyu* [5] Purāṇas, the first dynasty of Māhiṣmatī [6] was of the Haihaya family. The Haihayas, mentioned also in the *Arthaśāstra*, established themselves in that part of India by

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[1] *Dīgha*, ii, p. 236.

[2] *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 54.

[3] *Matsya*, 43.48-9.

[4] *Ibid.*, 43.8–29.

[5] *Vāyu*, 94.5–26.

[6] *JRAS.*, 1910, p. 867—Pargiter's note deserves consideration.

overthrowing the Nāgas of the Narmadā region. The Haihayas and their descendants, the Avantis, Bhojas, and the rest, were all originally of the Sātvata race.[1]

The pedigree of king Caṇḍapajjota of Avantī is nowhere given in Pali or Ardhamāgadhī. According to the Purāṇas, however, his father was Pulika who killed his master, the then reigning king of Avantī and anointed his son, Pradyota by force. Pradyota who subdued all neighbouring kings was 'destitute of good policy.' He reigned for 23 years and was succeeded by five kings who reigned for 138 years.[2] His son and successor was Pālaka whose reign served as data for fixing the date of Mahāvīra's demise. Thus in the time of Mahāvīra and the Buddha, Caṇḍapajjota or Pajjota was the powerful monarch of Avantī who had three sons and a daughter named Vāsuladattā (Sk. Vāsavadattā). Vāsuladattā eloped with king Udena of the Vaccha realm. Within a century and a half from the death of Pajjota, the country of the Avantīs became merged in the Maurya empire.

The Jātakas speak of sixteen Bhojaputtas.[3] But they tell us nothing as to the countries where the sixteen branches of the Bhojas resided

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[1] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 4th ed., p. 23.

[2] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 18, 68.

[3] *Saṃyutta*, i, 61-62; *Jātaka*, i, p. 45; Law, *Geography*, p. 62.

or founded their territories. The Bhojas were, even according to the *Aitareya* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas*, one of the septs of the Sātvatas. Bhīma, the king of Vidabbha (modern Berar), was no doubt a Bhoja king. The Sarabhaṅga Jātaka [1] preserves the tradition of the powerful king Daṇḍakī of the kingdom of Daṇḍaka in the Vindhya region, who had his capital at the city of Kumbhavatī. The sovereignty of Daṇḍaka was established over the whole of the Vindhya region, extending as it did from Vidabbha to Kaliṅga. Kāliṅga, the king of Kaliṅga, Aṭṭhaka, the king of Aṭṭhaka and Bhīmaratha, presumably the king of Vidabbha, acknowledged his supremacy. The kingdom of Daṇḍakī was utterly destroyed by a natural catastrophe. Daṇḍakī or Dāṇḍakya was undoubtedly a Bhoja king.[2] In the fifth and thirteenth Rock Edicts of Aśoka, the Raṭhikas, Bhojakas and Pitinikas, all of whom may be supposed to have belonged to the Sātvata race, are mentioned as semi-independent ruling peoples of Aparānta. In the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas are introduced in such a manner as to leave no room for doubt that they were ruling chiefs of the Vidyādhara settlements (*Vijādharādhivāsā*).

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[1] *Jātaka*, v, pp. 134, 267ff., *Majjhima*, i, p. 378; *Mahāvastu*, iii, p. 363f.

[2] *Arthaśāstra*, Shamaśāstrī's Tr., p. 12.

The *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti*, as noted before, connects the Vidyādharas with the Vaitāḍhya or Vindhya range and speaks of their eighteen settlements. When the Jātakas speak of sixteen Bhojaputtas, one may understand that they were the ruling chiefs of sixteen Vidyādhara tracts along the Vindhyas. From these references, both in literature and in inscriptions, it may be inferred that the Vidyādharas were not mythical beings but some aboriginal tribes that settled along the Vindhyas.

The Assakas (Sk. Aśvakas, Aśmakas) find mention as a distinct people of India in early Pali texts, in Pāṇini's grammar, and in the *Mahābhārata*, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, and Purāṇas. The Greek writers knew them as Assakenus whose territory was situated in the Swat Valley. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, they are placed in Uttarāpatha. Pāṇini's reference, too, must have been to a people in Uttarāpatha.[1] But the early Pali texts are concerned only with those Assakas who founded a territory in the Dakkhiṇāpatha which lay contiguous to the kingdom of the Avantīs [2] and on the south bank of the Godāvarī.[3] The capital of this southern kingdom was Potana [4] (Sk. Paudanya) or Potali.[5]

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[1] Law, *Geography*, p. 21.
[2] *Jātaka*, v, p. 317.
[3] *Sutta-nipāta*, verse 977.
[4] *Dīgha*, ii, p. 235.
[5] *Jātaka*, ii, p. 155.

It was included at one time, in the past, in the empire of Reṇu and was ruled by Brahmadatta[1] who must have been a prince of the royal family of Kāsī. At another time, as stated in the Assaka Jātaka, the Assaka kingdom formed an integral part of the empire of Kāsī.[2] In this instance, the *Jātaka* does not give us the personal name of the king. The Cullakāliṅga Jātaka mentions Aruṇa, the king of Assaka, who accepted the challenge of the contemporary powerful king of Kaliṅga and ultimately defeated him. The battle ended in a treaty which was solemnised by a matrimonial alliance between the two royal houses.[3] The Godāvarī flowed between the two neighbouring kingdoms of Assaka and Mūḷaka or Aḷaka,[4] the latter lying to the north of the former and at the foot of the Vindhyas. In the commentary on the *Sutta-nipāta*, the two kingdoms are represented as two Andhaka or Andhra principalities. According to the *Vimānavatthu*-Commentary, the ruler of Assaka at the time of the Buddha was a king whose son was Prince Sujāta.[5]

Among the dwellers of the Vindhya region other than the Bhojas and Avantīs including

[1] *Dīgha*, ii, p. 235.
[2] *Jātaka*, ii, p. 155.
[3] *Jātaka*, iii, pp. 3–5.
[4] *Sutta-nipāta*, verse 977.
[5] *Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, p. 259f.

the Anuvindakas, the *Apadāna* (ii, p. 359) mentions the Bhagga-Kārūsas, Okkalas and Mekalas. The Dasaṇṇas find mention in the Jātakas[1] and Petavatthu. They were evidently a people who settled along the banks of the river named Dasaṇṇā (modern Dasan, a tributary of the Yamunā), and founded a territory with their capital at Vedisa (modern Bhilsa) on the river Vetravatī. Erakaccha was a well-known city of the Dasaṇṇas.[2] The Dasaṇṇa country is counted among the sixteen mahājanapadas in the *Mahābhārata* (ii, 5.10) and *Mahāvastu* (i, p. 34). The name of the Mekalas is to be met with only in a nominal list. The Okkalas were evidently the inhabitants of Ukkala (Sk. Utkala) which lay, according to the *Mahāvastu* (iii, p. 303), in Uttarāpatha. It is not impossible that the Okkalas who belonged at first to the north-western region of India, founded a colony afterwards in the Vindhya region. That there was an Ukkala janapada in Uttarāpatha is borne out by the *Theragāthā*-Commentary, according to which, the two caravan-merchants, Tapassu and Bhalluka, referred in the *Mahāvastu* to Utkala in Uttarāpatha, were citizens of Pokkharavatī,[3] a well-known city in Gandhāra.

[1] *Jātaka*, iii, p. 338.

[2] *Petavatthu*, ii, 7.

[3] *Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā*, i, p. 48f.

Thus it is very probable that Utkala in Uttarāpatha, with Pokkharavatī as its chief town, formed a part of the kingdom of Gandhāra. So far as the *Apadāna* reference is concerned, the association of the Okkalas with the Mekalas hardly leaves room for doubt that they belonged to Ukkala, which, together with Oḍḍa, constituted Orissa proper. The *Apadāna* list contains also the name of the Oḍḍakas whose dialect, as already noted, was counted among the instances of Milakkhabhāsā. Certain classes of thinkers, namely, the *ahetuvādā*, *akiriyavādā* and *natthikavādā*, are banned as Ukkalāvassabhaññā, i.e., persons speaking the 'unintelligible jargon of the country of the Okkalas'.[1] The Bhaggas, associated in the *Apadāna* with the Kārūṣas whom the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* allocates to the Vindhya region, were a people who founded a territory contiguous to that of the Vaṃsas or Vacchas. Their capital was Suṃsumāragira. In the Buddha's time their country became a dependency of the kingdom of Vaccha and was being governed by Prince Bodhi, son of king Udena, who built a magnificent palace called Kokanada at Suṃsumāragira.[2] A branch of the Bhaggas,

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[1] *Aṅguttara*, ii, p. 31; *Majjhima*, iii, p. 78. Buddhaghosa wrongly explains the expression as signifying two persons, Vassa and Bhaññā, who were natives of Ukkala.

[2] *Aṅguttara*, ii, p. 61; *Majjhima*, i, p. 332.

as already pointed out, also occupied a small territory between Vesālī and Sāvatthī.

Among the peoples of the Aparānta or western sea-board other than the Sindhu-Sovīras, we have mention in the *Apadāna* (ii, p. 359) of the Suraṭṭhas, Aparāntakas and Suppārikas (or Suppārakas). The Jaina canonical texts mention the name of Kacchas, who settled down in a territory, now known as Cutch. The Bharukacchas (Sk. Bhṛgukacchas) were the citizens of Bharukaccha (modern Broach in Kathiawar). The kingdom of Bharu stood on the sea and was three hundred leagues in extent. The tradition is that the whole of this kingdom was submerged in the sea by the fury of the gods.[1] According to the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 576) the kingdom of Bhiru with its principal city Bhiruka or Bhirukaccḥa was founded by and named after Bhiru, who was one of the two chief ministers of king Rudrāyaṇa of Sauvīra in the lower Indus Valley. Rudrāyaṇa, a contemporary of king Bimbisāra of Magadha, was killed by his wicked son Śikhaṇḍī, whose kingdom was afterwards destroyed as a punishment for this crime. The legend concerning the foundation of the Bhiru kingdom with its capital in the Buddha's time cannot be believed for the simple reason that the kingdom and its sea-port

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[1] *Jātaka*, ii, p. 169f.

had existed long before. The Sussondi Jātaka speaks of the ministrel Sagga's journey from Benares to Bharukaccha [1] (Barygaza of Ptolemy and the Periplus.)

The Suppārikas or Suppārakas (Sk. Saurpārakas) were the citizens of Suppāra or Suppāraka (modern Sopārā) which was the capital of the kingdom of Sunāparanta.[2] The distance of Suppāra from Sāvatthī was one hundred and twenty leagues.[3] The people of Sunāparanta 'were reported as being fierce and violent'.[4]

The Suraṭṭhas were the inhabitants of the kingdom of Suraṭṭha (Sk. Surāṣṭra) which is identified with Kathiawar. The prosperity of Suraṭṭha was due to trade.[5] One king Piṅgala ruled in Suraṭṭha as a subordinate potentate under the Mauryas,[6] while, according to the Junāgaḍ inscription of Rudradāman I, the Yavana Tuṣāspa was the governor of Surāṣṭra under king Aśoka.

Among the peoples of South India referred to in the Great Epic and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*,

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[1] *Jātaka*, iii, p. 187f.

[2] *Majjhima*, iii, p. 268; *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 61f; N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India*, p. 197.

[3] *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, ii, p. 213.

[4] *Majjhima*, iii, p. 268; *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 61.

[5] *Apadāna*, ii, p. 359; *Milinda*, pp. 331, 359; *Jātaka*, iii, p. 463; v, p. 133.

[6] *Petavatthu*, iv, 3. According to the Commentary, the contemporary Maurya king was Dhammāsoka, which is, however, doubtful. See C. D. Chatterjee's paper, 'A historical character in the reign of Aśoka Maurya', *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, p. 329f.

the Andhakā (Sk. Andhrā), Sabarā, Damiḷā (Drāviḍā) and Kolakā (Coḷā) find mention in the *Apadāna* (ii, pp. 358-59). The Mahiṃsakā and Kaliṅgā are mentioned in the Jātakas. Uttaramadhurā mentioned in the Jātakas presupposes knowledge of Dakkhiṇamadhurā, which must have been the capital of the Pāṇḍyas of South India. The Pāṇḍyas as an independent people find mention in the edicts of Aśoka along with the Coḷas, Satiyaputras and Keralaputras. These four peoples must have been comprehended by the name, Damiḷā, in the *Apadāna*. The Āndhrakas, Pulindas and Śavaras are counted in the *Mahābhārata* (xii, 207.42) among the people of the Deccan. In the edicts of Aśoka too, the Āndhras are associated with the Pārindas who were apparently no other people than the Pulindas in the Great Epic and the Purāṇas.

Vincent A. Smith considers the Andhakas (Āndhrakas) as 'a Dravidian people, now represented by the large population speaking the Telugu language, who occupied the deltas of the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā'. But in the Pali commentaries, exactly as in the *Apadāna*, the Andhakas as a people are distinguished from the Damiḷas, although their dialects are classed under the group of eighteen Milakkhabhāsā or non-Aryan languages. Srinivas Iyengar thinks that they were originally a Vindhyan

tribe, whose territories extended from west to east down the valleys of the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā.[1] According to the *Sutta-nipāta* commentary, Assaka and Mūḷaka became two Andhaka principalities. In the *Kathāvatthu* commentary, Buddhaghosa definitely mentions that Pubbasela, Aparasela, Rājagiri and Siddhattha were all localities in the Andhaka territory. The Serivāṇija Jātaka locates Andhapura, the capital of the Andhakas, on the river Telavāha, identified by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar with the modern Tel or Telingiri.[2] The Āndhras and Pārindas were two among the semi-independent ruling tribes within Aśoka's empire.

The Sabaras (Sk. Śavaras) were evidently an aboriginal tribe identified usually with the Suari of Pliny and the Sabaræ of Ptolemy. They are probably represented now by the Savaralu or Sauras of the Vizagapatam Hills and the Savaris of Gwalior.[3]

The Akitti Jātaka speaks of the Damiḷaraṭṭha as a territory round Kāvīrapaṭṭana,[4] the port of Kāverī which is definitely placed by Buddhadatta in the kingdom of Coḷa (Coḷaraṭṭhe).[5]

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1 *Indian Antiquary*, 1913, p. 276f.

2 *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 71.

3 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 4th ed., p. 79.

4 *Jātaka*, iv, p. 238.

5 *Buddhadatta's Manuals*, Introduction, xiii, foll.

King Aśoka frankly admits that the Coḷas maintained their independence during his reign. Their territory in Dakkhiṇāpatha [1] certainly lay to the south of Aśoka's empire including the Andhra and Mahiṃsaka or Kekaya territories.

The Pāṇḍyas were a ruling people of South India, whose territory lay to the south of the river Kāverī. Their later capital, Madhurā, is described by Buddhaghosa as a suttapaṭṭana or a port noted for the export of cotton fabrics. During Aśoka's reign they were one of the independent nations in the south. As described in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, the contemporary Pāṇḍya king was rich in the possession of gems, pearls and jewels.

The Keralaputras, Keralas or Cheras were a branch of the Damiḷas who occupied a territory along the western sea-coast of the Deccan. In Aśoka's time they, too, were the independent nations of South India.

The Kāliṅgas were a powerful people of India who founded a territory between the territories of the Lāḍhas and the Andhakas, and along the eastern sea-coast. Their country represented one of the seven sub-kingdoms in the empire of Reṇu, ruled by king Sattabhū with his capital at Dantapura (Pālura), near Chicacole. The Hāthigumphā inscription speaks of the

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[1] *Petavatthu* commentary, p. 133.

three dynasties of kings who reigned in Kaliṅga, the third being a Ceti or Cedi royal family to which Khāravela himself belonged. One of the ancient kings of the Kāliṅgas was a contemporary and rival of Aruṇa, the king of Assaka, who being defeated in battle, concluded a treaty by which he gave all his four daughters in marriage to the victor.[1] Another king was a vassal under king Daṇḍakī.[2] A third king, Karaṇḍu or Karakaṇḍu, was a contemporary of Naggaji of Gandhāra.[3] In the Kāliṅga-bodhi Jātaka we read that the Kāliṅga king of Dantapura had two sons, Mahākāliṅga and Cullakāliṅga, the elder brother succeeding his father and the younger brother marrying a Madda princess from Sāgala while in exile. Cullakāliṅga's son, who was destined to be a *Cakkavattī*, was installed on the throne of Kaliṅga after the death of Mahākāliṅga.[4] The Jātakas maintain also a tradition of a Kaliṅga king, named Nāḷikīra, who brought about destruction of his kingdom by ill-treating a hermit.[5]

The Kaliṅga country was conquered by Aśoka and it was annexed to his kingdom. The people of Kaliṅga were so powerful at that

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[1] *Jātaka*, iii, p. 3f.
[2] *Ibid.*, v, p. 135f.
[3] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 376f.
[4] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 232f.
[5] *Ibid.*, v, p. 144.

time that they could well afford to lose in battle about three hundred thousand soldiers.

In the Great Epic and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, the Āṅgeyas (Pali Aṅgā), Māgadhas, Vaṅgeyas (Vaṅgā), Sauhmas, Tāmraliptakas, Bhārgavas, Vaidehas and Mallas are counted among the peoples of Eastern India. The early Buddhist and Jaina texts speak also of the Vajjis, Licchavis, Nātas, Sumbhas and Lāḍhas (Rāḍhas).

Of them, the Lāḍhas lived in a pathless country with its two divisions, known as Subbhabhūmi and Vajjabhūmi. It may be rightly supposed that these two divisions of Lāḍha corresponded to Suhma and Tāmralipti respectively. The Jaina *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* speaks of the inhabitants of the Rāḍha country as rude and generally hostile to the ascetics.[1] When the ascetics appeared near their villages, they used to set dogs upon them, uttering the syllables, '*cu cu*'.

The Aṅgas, Vaṅgas and Magadhas as countries and peoples figure prominently in the Jaina list of sixteen mahājanapadas, while in the Pali list the Vaṅgas have no place at all. So far as the evidence of the Pali canon and *Milindapañha* goes, Vaṅga stood apart from Aṅga. Vaṅga finds mention indeed in the

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[1] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, I. 8.3.

Mahāniddesa[1] and *Milindapañha*[2] as a centre of trade reached by sea. According to the Pali chronicles, however, both the country and capital of the Vaṅgas were known as Vaṅga. The then king of the Vaṅgas had married a princess from the royal family of Kaliṅga.[3]

It is in the *Atharvaveda* (v, 22.14) that we have the earliest mention of the Aṅgas and Magadhas as two peoples. From the Vrātya book of the same Veda (xv), it is evident that they were despised as Vrātyas[4] or peoples who lived outside the pale of orthodox Brahmanism. Aṅga with its capital at Campā formed one of the seven sub-kingdoms within the empire of Reṇu, and it was allotted to a king named Dhataraṭṭha of the line of Bharata. Magadha, however, has no place in this list. According to the *Harivaṃśa* and Purāṇas, Dadhivāhana was the son and successor of Aṅga. This Dadhivāhana could not have been the same king Dadhivāhana of Aṅga who is represented by the Jainas as a contemporary of Mahāvīra and a weak rival of king Śatānīka of Kauśāmbī.[5] According to the Pali tradition, however, the king of Aṅga in the Buddha's time was Brahma-

1 *Niddesa*, vol. i, p. 154.

2 *Milinda*, p. 359.

3 *Dīpavaṃsa*, ix, 2.

4 For a learned note on the subject, *vide* A. B. Keith's paper in *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 155f.

5 *JASB.*, 1914, p. 320f.

datta who was defeated and killed by Prince Seniya Bimbisāra, son of king Bhaṭṭiya of Magadha, who ruled Campā as his father's viceroy. Aṅga continued to be a dependency of Magadha till the reign of Khāravela of Kaliṅga. The *Dīpavaṃsa* (p. 28) tells us that Campā was ruled by Aśoka's son, Mahinda, his sons and grandsons. In the earlier phase of the war, Brahmadatta is said to have defeated Bimbisāra's father, Bhaṭṭiya. Even before that the kings of Aṅga were at war with those of Magadha, the victory being sometimes on this side and sometimes on the other. The Vidhura-paṇḍita Jātaka refers to Rājagaha as a city of Aṅga.[1]

Among the peoples of Eastern India, the Magadhas or Māgadhas were destined to rise steadily into an imperial power. As a Khattiya tribe, they founded a territory round Mt. Vepulla, which was bounded on the north and west by the Ganges, on the east by Campā, and on the south by the Vindhyas, the Sone forming the western boundary of the Magadhakhetta. The Gayākhetta formed an integral part of th Magadha kingdom throughout its existenc The *Mahābhārata* (i, 63.30) honours king Bṛha ratha as the founder of Girivraja, also nam Bārhadrathapura after him, while the *Rāmāy*

[1] *Jātaka*, vi, p. 271.

(i, 32.7) gives the credit for it rather to his father, the Cedi king Vasu Uparicara. In the Cetiya Jātaka, the five sons of the Ceti king Upacara or Apacara are mentioned as founders of the cities of Hatthipura (in the Kuru realm), Assapura (in the kingdom of Aṅga), Sīhapura (in the Panjab), Uttarapañcāla (in Pañcāla), and Daddarapura, the Giribbaja being excluded from the list.[1] But the Purāṇas persistently describe the Bārhadrathas as the royal dynasty that continued to rule the Magadha kingdom almost up to the 6th century B.C.

Seniya Bimbisāra was king of Aṅga-Magadha when the Buddha renounced the world and Mahāvīra became a Jina. He was junior to the Buddha in age by five years. According to the Buddhist tradition, Bimbisāra's father and immediate predecessor was king Bhatiya or Bhaṭṭiya, whose connection with the Bārhadrathas is nowhere mentioned or indicated. King Caṇḍapajjota of Avantī, Udena of Vaṃsa, Pasenadi of Kośala, Rudrāyaṇa of Sauvīra and Pukkusāti of Gandhāra are known to have een his great contemporaries. Similarly Pulika Avantī, Parantapa of Vaṃsa, Mahāpasenadi Kosala and Brahmadatta of Aṅga may be cribed as contemporaries of Bimbisāra's er as also of himself. In the Great Epic,

[1] *Jātaka*, iii, pp. 454, 460-461.

Jarāsandha, the most powerful king of Magadha, is introduced as the son and successor of Bṛhadratha. His powerful ally was the Cedi king Śiśupāla, both of whom were defeated and killed by the Pāṇḍava brothers. Nothing of this historical legend can be traced in the early Jain or Buddhist texts. On the other hand, in the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (xviii, 43), we have mention of Jaya, son and successor of king Samuddavijaya of Rājagaha, as the eleventh Cakkavattī of the Bhāratavarṣa. Arindama, Duyyodhana, and a few other ancient kings of Magadha are mentioned by name in the Jātakas. During the period preceding the advent of Mahāvīra and the Buddha, the no[illegible] event in the history of Magadha was [illegible] prolonged contest for supremacy between [illegible] Magadhan monarchs and the kings of Aṅga [illegible] varying results. It ultimately ended, however, in permanent annexation of Aṅga to Magadha.

The Videhas, who represented in the Buddha's time as one of the important clans constituting the Vajjian or Licchavi confederacy, were a people who originally migrated from the eastern continent of Videha and founded a territory named Videha after them on the left bank of the Ganges. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I. IV, 1 etc.), the country of Videha owes its name to its first king, Videgha Māthava, who came from the Sarasvatī region. This

king Māthava would seem to be no other than Makhādeva or Maghādeva in Pali. The father and predecessor of Nemi or Nimi as noted before, was a contemporary of Naggaji of Gandhāra, Dummukha of Pañcāla and others. It was from Nimi that the long line of the Janakas proceeded. The son and immediate successor of Nimi was Kaḷārajanaka,[1] so called because of his projecting teeth, whose son and successor was Samaṅkara. Thus Makhādeva is rightly described as the forerunner of the powerful kings of Mithilā. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1.71.3), the *ādipuruṣa* of the royal family of Mithilā was Nimi (Jaina Nami), [illegible] son was Mithi and grandson, Janaka I. [illegible]'s son, Janaka II, father of Sītā, had a [illegible] named Kuśadhvaja who became the kin[illegible] Sāṃkāsya. In the *Vāyu* (88.7-8) and *Viṣṇ*[illegible]v, 5.1) Purāṇas, however, Nimi or Nemi figures as a son of Īkshvāku and is honoured with the epithet of Videha. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* speaks of the philosopher king Janaka of Mithilā whom Rhys Davids was inclined to identify with king Mahājanaka of the Mahājanaka Jātaka.[2] The Videha country was bounded on the east by the Kauśikī, on the south by the Ganges, on the west by the

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[1] *Majjhima*, ii, 82; *Jātaka*, vi, 129.

[2] *Jātaka*, vi.

river Sadānīrā and on the north by the Himalayas. It was, according to the Gandhāra Jātaka,[1] 300 leagues in extent and contained at one time 16,000 villages, 16,000 storehouses and 16,000 dancing girls. Its capital Mithilā was built by Govinda.[2] The great prosperity of the Videhas was due to trade with other countries, Benares and the rest. According to the Jaina canonical tradition, Ceṭaka [3] of Videha was an influential leader of the Licchavi confederacy. His sister, Triśalā, was the mother of Mahāvīra, the historical founder of Jainism, and his daughter, Cellanā or Vedehī, was married to Śreṇika Bimbisāra of Magadha and became mother of Kūṇika, i.e., Ajātasattu.

When we speak of the Vajjis (Sk. [illegible]) we speak either of the Vajjian confederacy or the Vajjis as one of the constituent clans of that confederacy. The confederacy is also associated with the name of the Licchavis forming another constituent clan. The confederate clans were eight in number (aṭṭhakulā or aṭṭhakulakā) which, according to the Jaina *Kalpa* [4] and *Nirayāvalī Sūtras*, consisted of nine Licchavi clans. They formed an alliance with the nine Mallakas and the kings of Kāsī and Kosala.

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[1] *Jātaka*, iii, p. 365.

[2] *Dīgha*, ii, p. 235.

[3] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, pp. xii–xvi—maternal uncle of Mahāvīra.

[4] Sec. 128.

This alliance existed not only at the time of Mahāvīra's demise but also when a war ensued between Kūṇika Ajātasattu and the Licchavis. As for the remaining confederate clans, one may mention the name of Nāyas, Nātas or Jñātrikas,[1] who lived in a suburb of Vesālī, the Vajjian capital, and the Bhaggas who settled between Vesālī and Sāvatthī. Thus it may be supposed that the eight or nine confederate clans with the exception of the Videhas resided near about Vesālī which was at the time one of the most flourishing and beautiful cities in northern India.[2] According to the Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka, the city of Vesālī was surrounded by a triple wall, each wall standing at the distance of a league from the next and was provided with three gates and watch-towers.[3] The Vṛjis or Licchavis possessed a bright complexion; they were luxurious and at the same time most warlike, and strong in their national unity.[4] Theirs was an oligarchical republic and they had a common Mote-hall in which all important questions of administration were decided.[5] So long as they were able to maintain their unity, no power could conquer their country.

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1 See B. C. Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, Ch. II.

2 *Vinaya Texts*, *S.B.E.*, ii, 171; *Lalitavistara*, Ch. III, p. 21.

3 *Jātaka*, i, p. 504.

4 B. C. Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, Licchavis.

5 *Ibid.*, Chapter on Licchavis, Sec. V.

But we shall see anon that their unity was destroyed and that their country was conquered by the kings of Magadha not long after the demise of the Buddha. According to their national custom, a most handsome girl was reserved for the pleasure of the people.[1] Each family had its distinctive dress of its own.[2] The Vajjis or the Licchavis claimed their descent from the royal family of Kāsī.

The Mallas and the Licchavis are counted in the *Manusaṃhitā* [3] among the Vrātya Kṣatriyas. Like the Licchavis, the Mallas or Mallakis, consisting of nine clans according to the Jain canonical texts, formed a strong confederacy, republican in its character.[4] They too had a Mote-hall, for the discussion of all important matters concerning them. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta,[5] they are called Vāseṭṭhas, i.e., the Khattiyas belonging to the Vāseṭṭha (Vaśiṣṭha) gotra. Like the Videhas, the Mallas had originally a monarchical form of government, Okkāka (Īkshvāku) being mentioned in the Kusa Jātaka (No. 531) as a Malla king. It is probable that like the Śākyas, the Mallas as Kṣatriyas claimed their descent from

[1] B. C. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, p. 71.
[2] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 79.
[3] X. 22.
[4] B. C. Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, Ch. IV.
[5] *Dīgha*, ii, pp. 158-159.

the royal family of Okkāka. The Mallas and the Licchavis as two neighbouring peoples established friendly relations between them at least for their self-defence, though the Bhaddasāla Jātaka (No. 465) offers us an account of a conflict between them. At the time of the rise of Buddhism the Mallas were divided into two main sections, one having their capital at Pāvā and the other at Kusīnārā. There was current among the Mallas a living tradition of the former glory of Kusīnārā, which was built on the site of the ancient city of Kuśāvatī, which was the capital of the king Mahāsudassana.[1] There was a great belt of a Himalayan forest called Mahāvana which covered some portions of the Vajji and Malla territories. The Mallas retained their independence till the demise of the Buddha, as we find that both the main sections of the Mallas[2] appeared among claimants for shares of the bodily remains of the Master. It is not yet possible to collect the names of all the nine branches of the Mallas mentioned in the Jaina *Kalpasūtra*.

The Śākyas who, too, formed a confederacy with the Koliyas, have a permanent place in the history of India and of the world on account of the birth of the Buddha Gotama among them. They founded a kingdom named after them in

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[1] *Dīgha*, ii, p. 170f.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 167.

that part of northern India which stood between the kingdom of Kosala in the west and the Malla territory in the south-east. Their capital, Kapilavatthu, was founded around or near the hermitage of the sage Kapila. The Śākyas claimed their descent from king Okkāka whose ancestry is traced back to king Mahāsammata. In the early Pali texts, they are described as Ādiccabandhu in the sense that they belonged to the solar race of the Khattiyas. They had their Mote-hall at Kapilavatthu where their administrative and judicial business was carried out.[1] They as a ruling people were proud of the purity of their birth, for which, as tradition goes, they had to pay a heavy penalty. In the Buddha's time, the position of the Śākyas was that of vassals (anujātā) under king Pasenadi of Kosala. Placed as they were, they could not cherish much of territorial ambition. They once came into conflict with the Koliyas over the waters of the Rohiṇī river which had separated their territories.[2] According to the Jātakas and the Pali commentaries, the Śākya territory was invaded and conquered by Viḍūḍabha, the usurper king of Kosala in the last year of the Buddha's career. But in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta,[3] we read that both the

1 *Buddhist India*, p. 19. Cf. *ZDMG.*, 44, 344 (Jolly).

2 *Jātaka*, v, 412.

3 *Dīgha*, ii, 167.

Śākyas and the Koliyas as independent political powers appeared among the rival claimants for shares of the Buddha's bodily remains. Among other claimants, we have mention of the Bulis of Allakappa, the Moriyas of Pipphalivana and the Kālāmas of Kesaputta. We know practically nothing about the Bulis and the Kālāmas save and except that they were two of the small ruling clans. As for the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, according to the *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary,[1] two are the possible derivations of their name, one from the word *modiya* meaning delightful and the other from the word *mora* meaning peacock. According to the first derivation, the Moriyas were so called because they lived in a delightful land, and according to the second, they were called Moriyas because they founded their city in a locality which always resounded with the cries of peacocks. The *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary (pp. 119–121) traces the origin of the Maurya dynasty of Magadha to the Moriyas of Pipphalivana. Candagutta, according to this tradition, was born of the queen-consort of the Moriyan king of Pipphalivana. This is evidently in conflict with the account in the *Mudrārākṣasa*.

Turning at last to the peoples placed in the Brahmanical Mid-land, we have to take into

[1] *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā* (Sinhalese ed.), p. 119f.; Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, pp. 211-212.

account the four important peoples, e.g., the Kāsīs, the Kosalas, the Vaṃsas and the Cedis. The Kāsīs were one of the most ancient peoples of Northern India, who find mention in the Atharvaveda,[1] in which they are associated with the Kosalas and Videhas. They founded a kingdom named Kāsī after them, which was 300 leagues in extent, with its capital at Bārāṇasī which was known by other names in the past ages.[2] The city of Benares which stood on the left bank of the Ganges was encompassed by the walls that were twelve leagues in circuit. In the Mahāgovinda Suttanta Kāsī with Bārāṇasī as its capital is included in the list of seven sub-kingdoms within the empire of Reṇu. The administration of the kingdom of Kāsī fell to the share of Dhataraṭṭha represented as a king of the line of Bharata. The Bharata line of the Kāsī kings appears to have been supplanted by a new line of Brahmadattas who were probably of the Videhan origin.[3] Most of the Jātaka stories have been narrated with reference to the reigns of the Brahmadattas of Kāsī. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of a dynasty consisting of as many as 100 Brahmadattas (ii, 8.23). That Brahmadatta was more a family designation than a personal name of the

[1] *Vedic Index*, ii, 116 f.n.
[2] *Jātaka*, iv, 15, 119-20.
[3] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

reigning king is evident from at least two Jātakas namely the Dummedha [1] and Gaṅgamāla.[2] The Videhan origin is borne out by the evidence of such Jātakas as the Mātiposaka and Sambula, especially the latter in which a son of Brahmadatta, king of Kāsī, is expressly called Vedehaputta. The history of the Kāsīs, their kings and country is long as well as eventful. Many Jātakas testify to the unsurpassed glory of the city of Benares and to the ambition of its rulers for paramount sovereignty over the whole of Jambudīpa.[3] The Vinaya Mahāvagga (x, 2.3), too, bears testimony to the former greatness and prosperity of the city. The kingdom of Kāsī became important in the history of the Jains on account of the fact that their Tīrthaṅkara Pārśva was a prince of Benares. There was a time when king Manoja of Benares was able to subdue the kings of Kosala, Aṅga and Magadha.[4] At another time, the kingdom of Assaka became a dependency of Kāsī.[5] During the period preceding the rise of Jainism and Buddhism, the most important event in the history of the Kāsīs is the repeated struggle for supremacy between the kings of Kāsī and

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[1] *Jātaka*, i, p. 259f.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 421.

[3] Bhaddasāla Jātaka No. 465, Dhonasākha Jātaka No. 353.

[4] Sonananda Jātaka No. 532.

[5] Assaka Jātaka No. 207.

Kosala. Some of the Kāsī kings in the Jātakas, as pointed out by D. R. Bhandarkar [1], find mention also in the Purāṇas.[2]

The series of struggles ended finally in a permanent annexation of the kingdom of Kāsī to that of Kosala.[3]

The Kosalas [4] as a people do not find mention in the Vedic texts. They were a Kṣatriya tribe who like the Śākyas traced their descent from king Okkāka. The kinship between the two neighbouring peoples was so close in all respects that the Buddha openly confessed that he was as much a Kosalan (Kosalako) as the then king Pasenadi of Kosala.[5] In the earlier days of Brahmadatta, king of Kāsī, the Kosala country was only 'a poor and tiny estate with slender resources' (daliddo appadhano appabhogo appabalo appavāhano appavijito aparipuṇṇa-kosakoṭṭhāgāro).[6] It may be taken for granted that Ayojjhā (Ayodhyā) was the earlier capital of the undivided kingdom of Kosala. One king Kāḷasena reigned in

[1] *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 57.

[2] Vissasena of Jātaka No. 268 = Viśwasaksena; Udaya of Jātaka No. 458 = Udakasena, Bhallāṭiya of Jātaka No. 504 = Bhallāṭa.

[3] *Vinaya*, *S.B.E.*, vol. xiii, 294–99; Kuṇāla Jātaka No. 536; Kosambī Jātaka No. 428.

[4] For fuller details, *vide* B. C. Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, Ch. II.

[5] *Dhammacetiya Sutta*, *Majjhima*, ii, p. 118f.

[6] *Vinaya*, *Mahāvagga*, *S.B.E.*, vol. xvii, 294.

Ayojjhā as a contemporary of Sāgara of Uttaramadhurā and Vāsudeva Kaṇha of Dvāravatī. The capital of the Kosalas in the Buddha's time was Sāvatthī on the right bank of the Aciravatī. King Daśaratha whom the *Rāmāyaṇa* represents as the king of Kosala with his capital at Ayodhyā is described in the Dasaratha Jātaka as the king of Kāsī. The second capital of the Kosalas was Sāketa as may be inferred from the Nandiyamiga Jātaka.[1] But Vaṅka and many others are said to have reigned in Kosala when Sāvatthī became its capital. This was indeed the third and last capital of the Kosalas. At the time of the rise of Buddhism, Pasenadi, son and successor of Mahāpasenadi, was king of Kosala. Kāsī became subordinate to Kosala already during the reign of Pasenadi's father. Kāsī was at that time being governed by Pasenadi's brother who was evidently his viceroy. The throne of Kosala was being usurped by prince Virūḍhaka, a son of Pasenadi. Pasenadi is known to have been not only a contemporary of the Buddha but also a person who was born on the same date and died in the same year (tvam pi asītiko aham pi asītiko).[2]

The Vaṃsas or Vacchas [3] were a people who founded their territory along the right bank

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[1] No. 385.

[2] *Dhammacetiya Sutta*, *Majjhima*, ii.

[3] For fuller details, see B. C. Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, Vol. I, Ch. VI.

of the Yamunā with their capital at Kosambī. The Purāṇas trace their origin to the royal family of Kāsī. In the epic tradition, a Ceti prince named Kuśāmba is described as the founder of the city of Kosambī. The king of the Vaṃsas in the Buddha's time was Udena (Udayana) who is described as the son and successor of king Parantapa.[1] In the Purāṇas, Udayana is connected with a long line of Kuru kings headed by Nicakṣu who, on the destruction of Hastināpura by flood, transferred his residence to Kauśāmbī. Udena excelled others in the wealth of his elephants and sought to strengthen his position by entering into matrimonial alliances with the neighbouring kings. Even during the reign of Udena, the Bhagga country remained a dependency of the Vaṃsas.

The Cetis or Cedis [2], also known as Cetaputtā, were one of the most ancient peoples of India whose territory lay midway between the kingdoms of the Kurus and the Vaṃsas. In the Cetiya Jātaka we are given a genealogy of the Ceti kings from the first king Mahāsammata. The tenth king Upacara or Apacara is generally identified with the Puru king Vasu-uparicara mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. The agreement

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[1] According to the Purāṇas, his father's name was Vasudāna and according to Bhāṣa, Sahasrānīka.

[2] For fuller details, *vide* B. C. Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, Vol. I, Ch. V.

between the two legends lies in the fact that in both the five sons of Uparicara are said to have been founders of the five different lines of kings. Even in historical times, as already pointed out, the third dynasty of the kings of Kaliṅga including Khāravela is expressly mentioned to have originated from the Cedis.

The early texts of Jainism and Buddhism present, on the whole, a picture, envisaged by Rhys Davids[1] for the first time, of the political history of India in which the four great monarchies of Magadha, Kosala, Vaṃsa and Avantī, appeared as powerful competitors for overlordship. The remaining powers were of minor importance. They only remained as passive spectators or subordinate allies. The two of the most important oligarchical powers were the confederacies of the Vajjīs or Licchavis of Vesālī and of the Mallas of Kusīnārā and Pāvā. The Śākyas and Koliyas were only vassals under the monarch of Kosala. The Bulis of Allakappa, the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, the Kālāmas of Kesaputta and the Bhaggas of Suṃsumāragira remained as vassals under Kosala and Vaṃsa respectively. The four king-

[1] *Buddhist India*, Chaps. 1 and 2: This subject has been further discussed and elaborated by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, by Raychaudhuri in his *Political History of Ancient India*, by Vincent A. Smith in his *Early History of India*, and by various writers in the *Cambridge History*, Vol. I.

doms of Kāsī, Āḷavī, Kuru and Pañcāla acknowledged the supremacy of Kosala which became very powerful by the conquest of the kingdom of Kāsī. The kingdom of Avantī under Caṇḍapajjota became so powerful that all the neighbouring states admitted its supremacy in Western India. The kingdom of Magadha under Bimbisāra extended its supremacy over the whole of Kajaṅgala along with the kingdom of Aṅga. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, king Ajātasattu of Magadha is represented as saying to himself 'I will uproot the Vajjīs'. An explanation of this grim determination is given by Buddhaghosa. We are told that Ajātasattu and the Licchavis shared between them a big port on the Ganges. At a certain distance from it, there was a mineral mine the produce of which was to be equally divided, as per agreement between the parties. But the terms of the agreement were violated by the Licchavis. Ajātasattu, fully conscious of the strength of the Licchavis as gaṇarājās, did not venture to enforce the terms of the agreement upon them. According to the Jaina *Nirayāvalī Sūtra*, Ajātasattu presented his two uterine brothers, Halla and Vehalla, with a noble elephant and a costly necklace. After ascending the throne, he demanded back both the presents. Reluctant to return them, his

brothers fled away from Magadha and sought the protection of their maternal grandfather, Ceṭaka, the Licchavi-nāyaka of Vesālī. Ajātasattu having failed to get the things back by peaceful means, declared war against the Licchavis under Ceṭaka. A fierce battle ensued ending in the victory of the latter. The fact, however, seems to be that when Ajātasattu aspired after the throne of his father, the Licchavis set up a rival claimant. Anyhow the utterance of King Ajātasattu is significant as indicating that previously he was baffled in his attempts to subdue and punish the Licchavis. He sent his minister, Vassakāra, to the Buddha who laid much stress upon unity as the real source of their strength. Ajātasattu employed his ministers, Sunīdha and Vassakāra, to fortify the village of Pāṭaligāma on the Ganges to repel the attacks of the Vajjis and to bring about their disunion in order to weaken them.

Shortly after the death of Bimbisāra, Pasenadi stopped the payment of the revenue of the village of Kāsī which was offered by his father to his sister, as he was not in favour of allowing Ajātasattu, a parricide, to enjoy the income. This resulted in a war between Magadha and Kosala with the result that Ajātasattu was ultimately defeated and taken prisoner. A treaty was then concluded by the marriage of Pasenadi's daughter, Vajirā

with Ajātasattu. Pasenadi did not live long after this. Taking advantage of his absence from the capital, Dīgha-Kārāyana (cārāyaṇa), the commander-in-chief, placed Viḍūḍabha, a son of Pasenadi, on the throne. The last interview of Pasenadi with the Buddha, as recorded in the Dhammacetiya Sutta,[1] took place when both of them were in their eightieth year.

In the Introduction to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka[2], we read that Viḍūḍabha marched against the Śākyas on detection of the fraud committed by them by giving his father a slave woman to marry instead of a Śākya girl. He massacred the Śākyas brutally during the Buddha's lifetime. But this story does not tally with the account in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta in which the Śākyas of Kapilavatthu claimed and received a share of the Buddha's bodily remains.

By the machination of the Magadhan minister, Vassakāra, the unity of the Licchavis was completely destroyed and it became easy for Ajātasattu to conquer Vesālī. After the fall of the Vajjians, it may be supposed that their allies, the Mallas and the kings of Kāsī and Kosala with their vassals, came under the sway of Ajātasattu.

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[1] *Majjhima*, ii, p. 118f.

[2] *Jātaka*, iv, p. 144f.

From the dynastic list of the kings in the Purāṇas, it appears that Prasenajit of Kośala, Udayana of Vatsa, and Pradyota of Avantī were succeeded each by four or five kings, after which their dynasties came to an end. But the early texts of Jainism and Buddhism have practically nothing to say about their successors after the Buddha's demise. The Pali canon and the *Milindapañha* record three events with reference to three chronological landmarks, e.g., the First Buddhist Council [1] held during the reign of Ajātasattu shortly after the Buddha's demise, the Second Council [2] held a century after that and the compilation of the Kathāvatthu during the reign of Dhammāsoka. Further, the Petavatthu mentions king Piṅgala of Suraṭṭha as a subordinate potentate in western India under the Moriyas. This is a clear indication of the fact that at that time the Magadha empire under the Moriyas included the three kingdoms of Kosala, Vaṃsa and Avantī.

The supremacy of Magadha which reached its zenith during the reign of Dhammāsoka, continued even in the midst of many vicissitudes through the reign of the Śuṅgas and their successors.

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[1] *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Cullavagga, Ch. 11.

[2] *Ibid.*, Ch. 12.

Chapter III

SOCIAL LIFE AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The peoples and kings dealt with in the preceding chapter did not constitute the whole of the populace of Jambudīpa. From the point of view of social grades, they were the Khattiyas [1]—princes, warriors or nobles, who acquired the right to rule the country by the strength of their arms. The Indo-Aryan society was composed of three other social grades, namely, those represented by the Brāhmaṇas, Vessas and Suddas.[2] Those who accepted this social system based upon the four theoretical divisions of people, were broadly distinguished as Aryans from the rest of the populace looked down upon as Milakkhas or Milakkhus (= Mlecchas).[3] In the outer fringes of the Indo-Aryan society, thus conceived and constituted, lived the Milakkhas among whom, again, some sections of people came completely under the sway of members of the Indo-Aryan society, and some maintained their political

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[1] Jacobi, *ZDMG.*, 48, 417—the Khattiya formula of the Buddhists.

[2] B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Ch. III (jāti or caste).

[3] *Dīgha*, iii, p. 264; *Saṃyutta*, v, p. 466; *Jātaka*, vi, p. 207; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 176; *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 236.

independence, adhering to their own social system. Those forming the first category are broadly classed as five *hīnajātis* or 'low tribes' who followed *hīnasippas* or 'low trades'. The Yonas and Kambojas of Uttarāpatha may be mentioned as two typical examples of those who belonged to the second category.

In contradistinction to the two upper grades of Khattiya and Brāhmaṇa, the Vinaya Suttavibhaṅga [1] enumerates the five *hīnajātis* as the Caṇḍāla, Veṇa, Nisāda, Rathakāra (= Cammakāra) and Pukkusa. Of these 'low tribes', the Caṇḍālas are distinguished from the Pukkusas as corpse-throwers (chavachaḍḍhakā) from the methars and sweepers (pupphachaḍḍhakā). The Veṇas are the workers in bamboo, the Rathakāras the workers in leather and the Nesādas the hunters (including the fowlers). In the opinion of Rhys Davids,[2] they were 'aboriginal tribesmen', the last three being hereditary craftsmen. In some of the enumerations,[3] we have mention only of the first two just below the four recognised social grades of Khattiya, Brāhmaṇa, Vessa and Sudda, the implication being that the five despised classes were typified by them. From

1 *Aṅguttara*, i, p. 107; ii, p. 85.

2 *Buddhist India*, p. 54.

3 *Aṅguttara*, i, p. 162; iii, p. 214: Khattiyā-Brāhmaṇā-Vessā-Suddā-Caṇḍāla-Pukkusā.

the very manner of enumeration, it is clear that if they were to be linked up with any of the four recognised grades, it was with the Suddas. At least, in Pāṇini's Sūtra (ii, 4.10—śūdrāṇāṃ aniravasitānāṃ), they are classed with the Śūdras. Here Pāṇini distinguishes the Śūdras into two classes: (1) the *aniravasita*, meaning those who were not considered outside the pale of the Indo-Aryan society (abahiskṛta-śūdrāḥ), and (2) the *niravasita* or those who were considered outside thereof. As explained in the commentaries, the latter class comprised those Śūdras who were untouchables or pariahs. The Caṇḍālas or mṛtapas and the Haḍḍipas or malegrahis are cited as illustrations of this class.

As illustrations of *aniravasita* Śūdras, Pāṇini's commentators mention the cowherds (cattle-rearers), barbers, goldsmiths, potters, wood-carvers, blacksmiths, washermen, weavers, Bhillas and fishermen. When a copulative compound is formed of names of the Śūdras within the fold, it has a neuter singular form, e.g., gopa-nāpitam, karmāra-kumbhakāram; if of names of the Śūdras outside the fold, it has a masculine dual or plural form, e.g., Caṇḍāla-haḍḍipau.

In the Assalāyaṇa Sutta, the Yonas and the Kambojas are mentioned as two neighbouring peoples whose social system admitted distinction only between two social grades of *ayya*

or master and *dāsa* or slave; there being no impassable barrier at all between the two classes.[1] The early texts of Jainism and Buddhism do not give us any insight into the social system of the Andhakas, Damiḷas and other milakkhas before they adopted the Indo-Aryan social scheme.

It will be seen that the social grades, as defined in the Indo-Aryan social scheme, were all apparently based upon occupations, and as such, they might be taken to denote classes (*seṇīs*), or even trade-guilds (*Pūgas*), rather than castes or races. The Brahmanist stood for the conception of society as an organism with the mouth, the arms, the thighs and the feet as its four important functioning parts, none superior, none inferior, the well-being of the entire organism depending on the harmonious working of all the parts. The mouth as symbol of cultural expression is represented by the Brāhmaṇa; the arms as symbol of military strength and administrative capacity by the Khattiya; the thighs as symbol of wealth and economic prosperity by the Vessa; and the feet as symbol of menial work by the Sudda,[2] the service being rendered by all the four in four different ways. With the Brahmanist, the society with its four divisions was a natural order, and as

[1] *Majjhima*, ii, p. 149: *ayyo hutvā dāso hoti, dāso hutvā ayyo hoti.*
[2] Barua, *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 33.

such unalterable. The allegorical fancy led him to name the four divisions in terms of *vaṇṇa, jāti* or *nikāya.* In Pāli and other contemporary Indian texts these three terms occur as synonyms.[1] The organic conception of society and its allegorical expressions were attractive so long as these were kept within their reasonable bounds. The difficulties arose when the theory was sought to be put into practice and the allegories and metaphors were sought to be interpreted literally, e.g., the term *vaṇṇa* in the sense of distinctive colour or complexion, *jāti* in that of distinctive mode of birth, and *nikāya* in that of distinct species. The persistent Brahmanical tendency to give a hereditary character to occupational distinctions by birth-right led to the formation of castes and castes within castes. The early records of Jainas and Buddhists reveal a powerful movement of thought counteracting this rapidly increasing tendency.

As regards *vaṇṇa, jāti* or *nikāya* forming basis of social distinctions, each of them admitted a twofold interpretation: biological and psycho-ethical, biological and social or cultural. The *vaṇṇa* as a biological term meant colour or complexion and as a psycho-ethical term, a particular colouring or modification of soul or

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[1] Law, *Concepts of Buddhism,* p. 11.

man's internal nature. The *jāti* as a biological term meant birth, pedigree or relationship, and as an ethical term, a particular mental or moral trait. Similarly the *nikāya* as a biological term meant a species, and as a social or cultural term, a distinct class, group or body. The claim of correspondence between the two meanings in all cases was absurd. There was no guarantee that one who was bright in complexion was in the same degree bright in internal nature; or that one who was of noble birth was also of noble disposition.

Taking *jāti* and *vaṇṇa* in their biological sense, Rhys Davids observed: 'The basis of social distinctions was relationship; or, as the Aryans, proud of their lighter colour, put it, colour. Their books constantly repeat a phrase as being common amongst the people—and it was certainly at least among the Aryan sections of people—which divided all the world, as they knew it, into four social grades, called colours (*vaṇṇā*). At the head were the Kshatriyas, the nobles, who claimed descent from the leaders of the Aryan tribes. They were most particular as to the purity of their descent through seven generations, both on the father's and the mother's side; and are described as 'fair in colour, fine in presence, stately to behold'. Then came the Brahmins, claiming descent from the sacrificing priests,

and though the majority of them followed other pursuits, they were equally with the nobles distinguished by high birth and clear complexion. Below these were the peasantry, the people, the Vaiśyas or Vessas. And last of all came the Śūdras, which included the bulk of the people of non-Aryan descent, who worked for hire, were engaged in handicraft or service, and were darker in colour.[1] In the Ambaṭṭha Sutta, *kaṇhā* (blackies) and *bandhupādāpaccā* (sprung from the feet of Brahmā) are freely applied to the Suddas as two terms of contempt. But the peoples of different complexions became so much intermingled in course of time that the brightness of colour in the natural sense of the term could rarely be relied upon as criterion of superiority of the social grade.

In order to prevent the loss of colour through intermixture and to preserve the national, racial, tribal or family type, it was deemed necessary to impose certain restrictions, rigid more or less, as to *connubium* or the right of inter-marriage and *commensality* or the right of eating together. Aiming at the production and preservation of the best possible type, not only from the physical and mental point of view but also from the family and cultural, the distinctions and restrictions were based also

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1 *Buddhist India*, pp. 53-54.

upon *kula* and *gotta*, the former meaning the collection of cognates and agnates and the latter, the cultural heritage from a highly endowed Ṛṣi. The term *nikāya* may be taken to have comprehended the sense of both *kula* and *gotta*.

In the Pāli texts, however, the term *gotta* has been employed in the sense of 'ancestry, lineage.' 'It includes all those descended, or supposed to be descended, from a common ancestor. A *gotta* name is always distinguished from the personal name, the name drawn from place of origin or residence, or from occupation, and lastly from the nickname. It probably means agnate rather than cognate.'[1] In support of this one may indeed cite the description given in the *Sutta-nipāta* of the Śākyas as: *Ādiccā nāma gottena, Sākiyā nāma jātiyā*, 'known as Ādityas by their ancestry, and as Śākyas by their birth'; and the introduction in the Jātakas of Dhanañjaya as a Kuru king of the Yudhiṭṭhila-gotta, 'of the stock of Yudhiṣṭhira'.[2] But when Vāsudeva, a Khattiya, is described as Kaṇha, i.e., 'one belonging to the Kaṇhāyana-gotta',[3] the Buddha as Gotama, 'one belonging to the Gotama-gotta', and the Mallas as Vāseṭṭhas, 'those belonging

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[1] *Pali-English Dictionary* (P.T.S. ed), *sub voce* gotta.

[2] *Jātaka*, iii, p. 400.

[3] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 84.

to the Vāseṭṭha-gotta', it cannot be maintained that the term *gotta* stands for ancestral lineage in view of the fact that Kaṇha, Gotama, Vāseṭṭha and the rest are names of the ancient Ṛṣis who were mostly Brahmins and rarely Khattiyas by their birth. According to the Ambaṭṭha and Tevijja Suttas, the persons, such as Aṭṭhaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Vessāmitta, Yamataggi, Aṅgirasa, Bhāradvāja, Vāseṭṭha, Kassapa and Bhagu, from whom had originated the *gottas*, were all ancient sages who were composers and promulgators of the *mantas* or Vedic hymns. As Buddhaghosa suggests, the personal name was meant for recognition, and the *gotta* or surname for lineage (*paññattivasena nāmaṃ paveṇivasena gottaṃ*).[1] A history of the gradual division and sub-division of the original ten *gotras* into many *pravaras* and *śākhās* is given in the *Divyāvadāna*, Ch. xxxiii. Among the Sotthiya-class of Brahmins, many might have been led by sentiment to claim direct descent from those ancient sages. But the question will always remain open whether that acclaimed descent implied a line of agnates or an unbroken succession of teachers and pupils. Thus in the case of *gotta*, too, there was throughout a confusion between the ancestral line and the cultural.

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1 *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 257.

Besides *vaṇṇa*, *jāti*, *gotta*, *bhoga* (wealth),[1] and *kula*, we have mention in the early Pāli texts of *māna* or prestige as determining a person's family or social status,[2] of which the testing was marriage factor of boys or girls.[3] As for the four *vaṇṇas* forming the four broad divisions of the Indo-Aryan society, it should be noted at the outset that the usual order of enumeration, was: the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas or Rājaṇyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. In the early Buddhist texts, on the other hand, the order of the first two *vaṇṇas* was reversed with the result that the Khattiyas came to be placed first and the Brāhmaṇas just next to them. As regards the remaining two *vaṇṇas*, the order was left undisturbed. The Jainas and Buddhists contended for the precedence of the Khattiyas over the Brāhmaṇas on the Brahmanist's own ground, i.e., the purity of birth through seven generations on the father's as well as the mother's side. The history of this contest for superiority between these two *vaṇṇas* was indeed as old as the remote Vedic Age. As some of the earlier Upaniṣads attest, even on intellectual and spiritual grounds the Kṣa-

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[1] *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, ii, p. 218: *jātiyā ca gottena ca bhogena ca sadiso*.

[2] *Dīgha*, i, p. 99: *jātivādo iti pi gottavādo iti pi mānavādo iti pi*.

[3] *Ibid.*, i, p. 99: *āvāha-vivāha-vinibandhaṃ*.

triyas were openly claimed to have been entitled to a superior position. Throughout the early Jaina and Buddhist texts, a sharp distinction was sought to be drawn between the Brāhmaṇas as they ought to have been and the Brāhmaṇas as they actually were, that is to say, between the ideal and the fact. In drawing a correct picture of the social life in India as revealed in the ancient Jain and Buddhist texts, we are concerned with the Brāhmaṇas as they actually were. As for the other view, even on the frank admission on the part of the Jainas and Brāhmaṇas, there were ideally perfect Brāhmaṇas in the past. Their criterion was applied to the Brāhmaṇas of the time who became degenerated on account of their gradual deviations from the ancient path of purity or morals, absence of greed, contentment and magnanimity. What they themselves aspired to be was the ideally perfect Brāhmaṇa. When the Brāhmaṇa stood theoretically for the ideal, the nature of the claim was not that all those who passed in society as Brāhmaṇas lived or were capable of living up to that ideal. Similarly, when the Khattiyas contended for the ideal of Jinahood or Buddhahood, the nature of the claim was not that all those who passed in society under the name of Khattiyas became or were capable of becoming Jinas or Buddhas. The claim indeed was that it was among the

two upper divisions that there lay the real possibility of the birth of highly endowed persons capable of realising the ideal or ideals and remoulding human civilisation.

In the Dasa-brāhmaṇa-Jātaka, Vidhura, the wise man of the Kuru court, divides the Brāhmaṇas into ten categories, classes or types (*dasa-brāhmaṇa-jātiyo*) and sweepingly criticises them as placed in each category: the Brahmins who went about like physicians (*tikicchakasamā*) with sacks containing sanctified and therefore important medicinal roots and herbs, offering themselves to cure diseases for money. Those who like servants (*paricārakasamā*) used to ring little bells as they went before as heralds of kings and their ministers, served as messengers or even followed the calling of wagon-drivers. Those who in the garb of ascetics behaved like tax-collectors (*niggāhakasamā*), determined not to leave the place until something was given to them by way of alms. Those who begged alms in another garb of ascetics with long nails and hairs on the body, etc., and covered with dust and dirt were like diggers of the soil for uprooting the stumps (*khāṇughātasamā*). Those who like tradesmen (*vāṇijakasamā*) used to sell various fruits, planks, wood, sweets, scents, honey and ointment. Those who like the Ambaṭṭhas and the Vessas carried on agricultural trade, did farming, gave away their daughters for money

and acted as matchmakers. The Purohitas who interpreted omens, castrated and branded animals and acted as butchers (*go-ghātakā*). Those who armed with the sword and the shield and axe guarded the business-quarter and led the caravans through roads infested with robbers and thus resembled the Gopas and Nisādas. Those who in the garb of hermits behaved like hunters (*luddakasamā*), killed hares, cats, lizards, fish and tortoises. The Yājñikas who in performing the Somayāga for lucre acted like bathers (*malamajjanasamā*) to the kings.

Similarly the criticism of the Brahmin position offered in the Pali Vāseṭṭha Sutta clearly implies that the Brāhmaṇas of the time followed the pursuits of agriculturists (*kassakā*), craftsmen (*sippikā*), order-carriers (*pessikā*), tradesmen (*vāṇijā*), soldiers (*yodhājīvā*), sacrificers (*yājakā*) and landlords (*rājaññā*) as various means of their livelihood.[1]

In the Fragment on Sīlas, it is clearly stated that the Brāhmaṇas, secular as well as religious, earned their livelihood by such low pursuits as those of apothecaries, druggists, physicians and surgeons, priests, occultists and sorcerers, soothsayers, fortune-tellers, palmists, foretellers, interpreters of dreams and signs and

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[1] *Sutta-nipāta*, p. 122; Fick, *Social Organisation*, p. 221f.

omens, calendar-makers, astrologers, appraisers, selectors of lucky sites for the erection of homesteads and buildings and edifices, architects, collectors of alms by diverse tricks and clever devices, story-tellers and ballad-reciters, landholders, traders, cattle-breeders, farmers, matchmakers and messengers. Although they belonged to a religious order, stood for the highest religious ideal, and were expected to live up to that ideal, in practice they appeared as hoarders of wealth and as persons who cared to live the aristocratic life of luxury and of pleasure and of ease and to witness and take part in all worldly amusements, games and sports, feasts and festivities.[1]

A more correct picture of the Brahmin position in the Indo-Aryan society of the Age may be drawn on the basis of the Buddha's classification of the Brāhmaṇas into five types: *Brahmasamā*, or those resembling the Brahmā; *Devasamā*, or those resembling the gods; *Mariyādā*, or those respecting their ancient tradition; *Sambhinna-mariyādā*, or those disregarding their ancient tradition; and *Brāhmaṇa-caṇḍālā*, or those who lived a vulgar life. In the first category are placed the Brāhmaṇas of high and pure birth through seven generations on both the father's and the mother's side, who

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[1] *Dīgha*, i, p. 4f.; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i, p. 6f.

after the practice of brahmacariyā and the complete study of the four Vedas with all the auxiliary works, took up the position of teachers, depending for their livelihood only on alms, and thereafter renounced the world to live the life of lonely meditation and holy communion. In the second category, are placed those Brāhmaṇas who differed from the former only in one respect, namely, that in the second stage of life they took up the position of married householders and as such they married girls only from their own class. They met their wives in proper time only for the purpose of procreation. Otherwise they lived a life of moral rectitude. In the third category, are placed those Brāhmaṇas who differed from those of the second class only in one respect, namely, that they did not renounce the world in the third stage of life but continued to live a household life, strictly adhering to their ancient tradition. In the fourth category, are placed those Brāhmaṇas who differed from those of the third class only in this respect that they married girls from all social grades, the Suddas and untouchables included, and indulged in sexual intercourse for the purpose of procreation as well as sensual pleasure. In the fifth or last category, are placed those Brāhmaṇas who differed from those of the fourth class only in this respect that besides marrying

girls from all social grades, they adopted with impunity all manner of pursuits, agriculture, trade, cattle-breeding, fighting as soldiers, government service and the rest, as a means of livelihood (*sabbakammehi jīvitaṃ kappeti*).[1]

The second classification of the Brāhmaṇas is interesting and important as presenting two sides of the picture in contrast, on one side, supreme worth, moral elevation, intellectual perfection and spiritual fervour, and on the other, worthlessness, moral degradation, dullness and worldly-mindedness.

So far as occupation of the Brāhmaṇas as a basis of social distinction was concerned, we find that the study of the Vedas with all the auxiliary sciences and arts, the teaching of the Vedas along with all sciences and arts useful to the State and to the people at large, and the office of a priest appertaining to the religious part of all social ceremonies constituted their monopoly. If the Khattiyas, Vessas, or even Suddas appeared as their rivals as teachers, it was only in the field of ethics and spirituality.

In speaking of the Brāhmaṇas, the early Jain and Buddhist books place them either in the usual social environment or in the hermitages. In the first connection, they are introduced either as those who were in the service

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[1] *Aṅguttara*, iii, p. 223f.

of the king (*rājakammikā*), or as those who had followed different professions of their own. In the second connection, they are introduced as those who went out of the social environments and lived the life of *tāpasas* or *isis* in forest homes called *assamas* with or without their families and resident pupils. Of those in service of the king, the most important was the *Purohita*. Next to him in importance were the *amaccas* or *mahāmattas* (councillors and ministers). The *Yācakas* (sacrificers) and others were no better than assistants in the office of the *Purohita*. Partly in connection with the king, they held the position of *mahāsālas* or heads of Vedic institutions. They came to represent the *sotthiya* class of Brāhmaṇas who were occasionally employed by the kings as *dūtas* (ambassadors). The Brahmins, also filled the office of *senāpatis* (generals), and *issatthas*, or *yodhājīvas* (soldiers), chariot-drivers, trainers of elephants, legal experts and judges. To the people in general they rendered services as *purohitas* and priests, as physicians and druggists, as astronomers and architects, as ballad-reciters and matchmakers. They pursued various other vocations of life as well in their own independent capacities as private citizens. The economic position of the Brāhmaṇas as a class, other than those in high royal service, the *mahāsālas*, and the few farmers and traders, could not but be

poor as they were wholly dependent on an uncertain income from fees, gifts, and alms.

The Purohita occupied a peculiar position in the court. Though in the service of the king, he was not counted among the king's officers. But he was partly entrusted with official functions and surpassed the royal officers in many respects in importance and influence.[1] As house-priest of the king, the Purohita advised him in secular and spiritual matters (atthadhammānusāsako). He acted as the *ācariya* or preceptor, the sacrificial priest and the house-priest.[2] He was the person to invoke the favour of the gods on behalf of the king or his family, and it was also in his power to do him harm. He performed the sacrifice with the assistance of other Brāhmaṇas to guard against misfortunes suggested through bad dreams, or through some unusual natural phenomena.[3] He was expected to be able to predict the result of all important undertakings on the part of the king by means of signs or constellations of stars. The Purohita was preferably appointed from among the teachers, playmates, comrades or class-fellows of the king, so that he might be always trusted and relied upon as the best friend

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1 Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

2 *Jātaka*, ii, p. 376; iv, p. 270; v, p. 127.

3 *Ibid.*, i, p. 334f.; ii, p. 46.

in weal and woe.[1] The guarding of the king's treasures was part of his duties.[2] In one instance, he is described as the king's officer (rājakammika);[3] in another, he replaces the Senāpati in the matter of judicial duties.[4]

The office of the Purohita was not necessarily hereditary, though the books record instances where it was held by the same family for generations together to justify the appellation, *purohitakula*.[5] Bāvari, for instance, was born in the family of Pasenadi's Purohita, and was the teacher of Pasenadi during his boyhood.[6] But there are many other instances where the king was at liberty to appoint his own Purohita. It was, however, considered a legitimate expectation that after the death of Purohita he would be succeeded in his post by his son. When Govinda, the Purohita of king Disampati of Videha, died, his son Jotipāla was appointed in his post at the suggestion of the crown-prince, Reṇu. The Purohitas of the six sub-kings were trained by Mahāgovinda.[7] In the Susīma-Jātaka,[8] we read that after the death of the

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1 *Jātaka*, i, p. 289; ii, p. 282; iii, p. 31.
2 *Ibid.*, iii, p. 513f.
3 *Ibid.*, i, p. 439.
4 *Ibid.*, ii, p. 187f.
5 *Ibid.*, i, p. 437.
6 *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 580.
7 *Dīgha*, ii, p. 230f.; *Aṅguttara*, iii, p. 373.
8 *Jātaka*, ii, p. 46f.

Purohita other Brāhmaṇas objected to the consecration of the State elephant by his son on the ground that he was still too young and was wanting in scriptural knowledge. The main source of income of the Purohitas was the fees and gifts received from the kings on all festive occasions and at the time of sacrifices. The gifts included land-endowments, women, maidens, slaves, male and female, and live-stocks. Fick seems to be right in his suggestion that here lay the origin of the landed property and worldly prosperity of the Purohitas. Among the Purohitas appointed from among the Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedic lore, Mahāgovinda, Bāvari and others may be singled out as those who were Brahmasama-brāhmaṇas. There were others who were either unworthy of the office they held or whose virtue did not come up to the Brahmanic ideal.

In the monarchies, the Brahmins figure among the *amaccas* and *mahāmāttas*[1] who, too, were rich and influential by virtue of the office held by them. The strength and quality of administration largely depended on their honesty and efficiency. They were the great diplomats and specialists in the rules of royal polity. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, we have mention of Sunīdha and Vassakāra as two able Brāh-

[1] Cf. *ZDMG.*, 37, pp. 267, 275.

maṇa ministers of king Ajātasattu under whose supervision the village of Pāṭaligāma was fortified and the city of Pāṭaliputta was built. It was again by the tactful machination of Vassakāra that the strong unity of the Vajjīan confederacy was broken and the Vajjīs could be easily conquered. Cāṇakya under whose guidance Candragupta was able to found the powerful Moriyan empire in India, belonged to this official rank.

The Sarabhaṅga-Jātaka speaks of Jotipāla, son of the Purohita of the king of Benares by a Brahmin wife, who was appointed commander-in-chief (*senāpati*) for his great mastery and skill in archery. When he was first appointed, his daily pay was one thousand *kahāpaṇas* and after he had defeated 500 archers in an open contest, it was increased to one hundred thousand. In appreciation of his high proficiency, all the people of Kāsī offered him money, which amounted to eighteen hundred crores.[1]

In the Buddha's time, there lived at Ekanālā in Dakkhiṇagiri a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja clan, who was a rich agriculturist. Five hundred ploughs were needed to cultivate the fields owned by him. On the day of the festive sowing (maṅgalavappa), he used to distribute

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1 *Jātaka*, v, p. 127f.

food to a very large number of people.[1] The Somadatta-Jātaka, on the other hand, relates the story of a poor Brāhmaṇa farmer who himself ploughed his field and whose son was a *pādamūlika* or menial in a royal court.[2] The Jātakas record other instances where the Brāhmaṇa farmers drove the plough with their own hands.[3]

In the Mahāsutasoma-Jātaka, we see that a wealthy Brāhmaṇa was engaged in trade. He carried on trade between the east-end and west-end of India, transporting his goods in 500 wagons.[4] We read also of ordinary Brāhmaṇa tradesmen and hawkers who roamed about in the country to sell their wares.[5]

The Phandana-Jātaka narrates the story of a Brāhmaṇa who took to the profession of a carpenter (*vaḍḍhaki*), collecting wood from the forest and making wagons for sale.[6] In a rare instance, we find that a Brāhmaṇa youth who lived in a frontier village, earned his livelihood by selling the hunted beasts.[7] The reason, as suggested by Fick,[8] was purely economic.

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[1] *Sutta-nipāta*, Kasi-Bhāradvāja Sutta; *Saṃyutta*, i, p. 171f.; E. J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, p. 117.

[2] *Jātaka*, ii, p. 165.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 162; iv, p. 276.

[4] *Ibid.*, v, p. 471.

[5] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 15.

[6] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 207.

[7] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 200.

[8] Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

Some of the Jātakas speak of Brāhmaṇas and Brāhmaṇa family of great wealth and influence (*aḍḍhā, mahaddhanā, mahābhogā, mahāsālakulā*). They mention some Brāhmaṇas whose wealth amounted to eighty crores (*asītikoṭi-dhanavibhavā*).[1]

According to Pali scholiasts, the Mahāsāla-Brāhmaṇas were those who were men of substance (*mahāsārā*), whose hoarded wealth amounted to eighty crores.[2] But the Mahāgovinda Suttanta describes them as heads of the Vedic colleges.[3] The Pali stock list of eminent Kosalan Brāhmaṇa Mahāsālas contained the names of Caṅki, Tārukkha, Pokkharasāti, Jāṇussoṇi, Todeyya and Lohicca. Of them, Caṅki was established at Opasāda, Tārukkha at Icchānaṅkala, Pokkharasāti at Ukkaṭṭhā, Jāṇussoṇi at Sāvatthī, Todeyya at Tudigāma and Lohicca at Sālāvatī. Each of them lived in a royal domain, given to him as a royal fief by king Pasenadi.[4] Similarly we read of Kūṭadanta who was established at Khāṇumata in Magadha and of Soṇadaṇḍa who was established at Campā. They lived each in a royal domain, given to him as a royal fief by king Bimbisāra.[5] The localities where

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[1] *Jātaka*, ii, p. 272; iv, pp. 15, 22.
[2] *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 313.
[3] *Dīgha*, ii, p. 236.
[4] Law, *S'rāvastī*, p. 15.
[5] Law, *Rājagriha*, p. 36; *Dīgha*, i, pp. 111, 127.

they lived with their disciples became known as Brāhmaṇagāmas.

As observed elsewhere,[1] these Brāhmaṇas became rich and powerful only because of certain permanent land-grants and endowments, made by the kings. The localities, as the description goes, full of life and covered with much grassy land, woodland and corn fields around Northern India, were dotted over with such Brāhmaṇagāmas. The Brāhmaṇas as Mahāsālas had a control over them as regards their revenue and the judicial and the civil administration, as was determined by the terms of royal grants (*rājadeyyaṃ brahmadeyyaṃ*). The Purohitas in respect of learning and social status belonged to this very class of Brahmins.

In the Brāhmaṇa texts, two privileges are claimed for the Brāhmaṇas, namely, unmolestibility and immunity from execution. They were not required to pay rents in so far as the land-endowments were concerned. The Pali texts do not bear testimony to any privileged position enjoyed by them in the eye of the law. It is clearly stated in the Madhura Sutta that a criminal, whether a Brāhmaṇa or not, was liable to execution.[2] The Jātakas definitely speak of the execution of Brāhmaṇas.[3] The

[1] Law, *Srāvastī*, p. 15; Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
[2] *Majjhima*, ii, p. 83f.
[3] *Jātaka*, i, p. 439; Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

early Buddhist and Jain texts record no instances where the Brāhmaṇas discharged worldly duties along with sacerdotal functions.

It should also be noted that even in the Buddha's time, the Udicca Brāhmaṇas, meaning the Brāhmaṇas who either belonged to Kuru-Pañcāla [1] or those who claimed descent from them, occupied a pre-eminent position among the Brāhmaṇas as a class.[2] The epithet *brahmabandhu* (Brahmā's favourite) was applied at first as a term of contempt to the Brāhmaṇas of Magadha.[3] But their position gradually improved so far that in the Āraṇyaka period their views were quoted with respect.[4]

The Khattiyas represented the ruling class, family, tribe or clan, claiming the Aryan descent. Wherever they founded a territory or colony, they lived either under a monarchical or a tribal, oligarchical or republican form of government. In monarchies, the kings were their best representatives. The members of a royal family passed as Khattiyas. In oligarchies, such as those of the Licchavis, Mallas and Śākyas, all the members bore the family title of *rājā*, which means a leading member of the

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1 *JRAS.*, 1920, 99f.

2 *Jātaka*, i, pp. 324, 356, etc.

3 *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 27; *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, xxii, 4.22; *Lātyāyana*, viii, 6.28; Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

4 *Vedic Index*, ii, p. 116.

ruling clan. The royal families originated from the reigning kings through succession.

The Khattiyas as a class were expected to be warriors by their training and occupation. They had, theoretically at least, the right to rule, maintaining internal order and peace and protecting their territories against their enemy. But the reigning king was not necessarily a man of the Khattiya family. In the Jātakas we read that where the reigning kings having been considered unworthy of the throne, the people in a body replaced them each by a Brāhmaṇa.[1] In the event of a king's death he was generally succeeded by the *Uparājā* (viceroy) appointed by him. The *Uparājā* might be either the deceased king's younger brother or his eldest son by his chief queen. When, after the death of Mahākaṃsa of Asitañjana, his elder son, Kaṃsa, became king, he made his younger brother, Upakaṃsa, the *Uparājā*. The same thing happened as to Sāgara, king of Madhurā, and his younger brother, Upasāgara.[2] Among the ten sons of Upasāgara and Devagabbhā, one was anointed as king-overlord and the rest were to take up the position of subordinate potentates.[3] As a rule, as pointed out by Fick, the sons of the

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[1] *Jātaka*, i, p. 326.
[2] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 79.
[3] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 81f.

queen consort (aggamahesī), who was to be of the same caste as the king, were considered legitimate heirs to the throne, the eldest or fittest of them being chosen for kingship. But this legitimacy was not always regarded as an essential condition.[1] In one instance, we find that the reigning king appointed the son of a woman wood-gatherer as the *Uparājā*, who duly succeeded to the throne.[2] The Mudupāṇi-Jātaka offers us an instance where the king made his nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law his successor.[3] During the reign of king Bhatiya of Magadha, his son Bimbisāra ruled the newly conquered kingdom of Aṅga as his viceroy.

In the absence of the *Uparājā* appointed by the deceased king, the kingdom usually devolved on his son, preferably on the eldest son, by his chief queen. When a king died without an heir, the duty fell upon the Purohita to find out a worthy successor.[4] In all cases, the formal anointment of a person as king depended upon the consent and combined will of the courtiers of the deceased king and his subjects.

The king was freely recognised as the foremost of men (*rājā mukhaṃ manussānaṃ*).[5] The fan, diadem, sword, umbrella and slippers constituted the five regalia (*pañcavidhakakudhā*).

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1 Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
2 *Jātaka*, i, p. 133; iv, p. 148.
3 *Ibid.*, ii, p. 323f.
4 *Ibid.*, iii, p. 238; cf. iv, p. 39.
5 *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, vi, 35.8.

The majesty of his person, brightness in his appearance, stateliness in his presence, power in his will, force in his command and pomp attaching to his court made the position of the king a highly coveted one among men; so also was the case of the queen among women. The tasting of sumptuous food and drink, dalliances with the ladies of the harem, sleeping on a rich and costly bed, entertainment given by the courtezans excelling in the art of dancing, singing and instrumental music, and unrestrained joy in a processional drive to the royal pleasure-garden are mentioned and described as the five private enjoyments by which a person might be attracted to kingship.[1]

In theory a king of a Khattiya family was to marry a princess from the royal house of equal social rank. In practice, however, he could or did actually marry girls and women from all social grades at his sweet will and promote them to the rank of his queens. The number of queens did not generally exceed three or five.[2] When a vacancy occurred, specially in the rank of the chief queen, it was filled up by promotion or

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[1] *Jātaka*, v, p. 505f.

[2] King Udena of Vaṃsa, for instance, had five queens: Sāmāvatī, the adopted daughter of his treasurer Ghosaka, Māgandiyā, a Brahmin girl, Gopālamātā, daughter of a peasant, Vāsuladattā, daughter of Caṇḍapajjota and Sāgarīkā, daughter of a Sinhalese king. See Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, i, p. 379f; Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 136.

new appointment. The royal harem was filled with maidens and women from all social grades. The high class courtezans who were not allowed to live within the palace compound, came also into close personal contact with the king. The books contain instances where, even in historical times, princes were begotten on them, e.g., Prince Abhaya, son of Bimbisāra, was born of Ambapālī. The Jātakas mention an instance in which Vāsudeva saw a Caṇḍālī on his way to the park, and in spite of her low birth, married her, making her his chief queen. Her son, Sivi, succeeded to the throne of Dvāravatī. Some of the kings were so profligate in their ways that no handsome women could escape them. The fate of the captured queens depended on the victor's whims and caprices. In the new household, they sometimes had to exchange places with their maids. Even the father employed the dancing girls to persuade his sons to indulge in worldly pleasures. The want of a male issue to succeed to the throne was keenly felt in the royal family as well as by the subjects. In an extraordinary case, the king having no son by any of the women in his harem, let out in the streets the queens and all, for a week from time to time under a religious sanction (dhammanāṭaka).[1] In Pali literature,

[1] *Jātaka*, v, p. 279.

the birth of king Caṇḍapajjota [1] is said to have resulted from an appointment and holy contact. Thus the king with the princes and courtiers as well as landed and business aristocrats may be shown to have played the part of subverters of the social order and social morality. With them polygamy was the rule [2] and monogamy the exception, with the result that the princes of the royal blood and sons of the Brahmins were distinguished by the names of their mothers, e.g., Ajātasattu Vedehiputta, Sāriputta, Moggaliputta, even the Barhut Gateway inscription of Dhanabhūti bearing a clear testimony to this. It was a custom among the Vajjīs, as noted before, to make courtezans (gaṇikās) from girls of perfect beauty.

The marrying of the maternal uncle's daughter was prevalent in some of the royal families [3], as also among certain ruling clans, such as, the Śākyas and Koliyas.[4] The tradition of polyandry is associated, in the Jātakas and Great Epic, with the five sons of Paṇḍu and Kaṇhā, described in the former as daughter of the king of Kāsī, and in the latter as daughter of king Drupada. The Pali legend of the Śākyas

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1 *Buddhistic Studies*, ed. by B. C. Law, Chap. VII.

2 Even a righteous king like Aśoka had queens more than one.

3 *Jātaka*, ii, p. 323.

4 Prince Siddhārtha married Rāhulamātā who was his maternal uncle's daughter.

speaks of their ancestors as princes of the Okkāka family who, under the pressure of circumstances, married their own sisters.[1] The legend records only a fact without implying that this form of marriage was customary among the Śākyas. The prevalence of this, as a pre-historic custom, is presupposed, indeed, by the Dasaratha-Jātaka[2] and the dialogue of Yama and Yamī in the Ṛgveda.

The princes of the royal blood were generally eager, at the instigation of others, to secure the throne at the expense of their fathers, the reigning kings. When they showed such a tendency or when their intrigue was detected, the king either imprisoned them or sent them to exile, or made them *Uparājās*, allowing them to actively participate in the administration of the kingdom, or a part of it. In the Buddha's time, Prince Viḍūḍabha seized his father's throne with the aid of the general, Dīghakārāyaṇa.

In the Pali Suttas, kings are distinguished as belonging to three ranks: *cakkavattī* or overlord, *issara* or *adhipati*, and *padesarājā*. In all the three ranks, they were absolute rulers or despots, benevolent or otherwise, so far as the internal administration of the empire, kingdom or province, was concerned. The main

1 *Jātaka*, v, p. 426; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 258.
2 *Ibid.*, iv, p. 123f.

sources of their income were the land revenue, duties on trade commodities, unclaimed wealth and presents on festive occasions. They appear to have owned private lands, and the ceremonial ploughing or sowing by them, as also by other big farmers, was one of the seasonal festivals of the year.[1] The conquest of a new kingdom and annexation of a new territory enabled the victors to obtain abundant booties. The victory celebrations constituted one of the memorable festive occasions. Hunting of deer was a favourite pastime of many kings. The happiness and joy of the subjects greatly depended on the good rule and righteousness on the part of the ruler, and their misery and distress on his misrule.[2] The chariots of the kings were drawn by four horses of superior breed, all-white in colour. The state-elephant preferably all-white, was a special object of veneration, and according to popular belief, the welfare of the kingdom or territory depended on its auspicious presence. The famine due to drought was sought to be remedied by the presence of such elephants.[3] The state-elephant bore special names, e.g., Puṇḍarīka.[4] The Indian army was composed of the elephant-riders,

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[1] *Jātaka*, iv, p. 167.

[2] *Ibid.*, v, p. 98.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 365f.

[4] Puṇḍarīka was the name of the state-elephant of king Pasenadi.

cavalry, charioteers and infantry. The mock-fights, roll-calls, marching of troops through the streets, and the like were no doubt enjoyable sights. The seasonal festivals, announced from time to time, were observed. The *Samajjās* or *Samājas* afforded occasions for big feasts, musical entertainments, dramas, operas, ballad-recitations, improvisation of verses, wrestling, bouting, duels, bull-fights, buffalo-fights, cock-fights, and the rest. The remission of taxes and release of prisoners were two of the traditional acts of the king's mercy. The construction of roads and bridges, excavation of tanks, sinking of wells, planting of shade-trees, erection of public halls, laying out of parks and gardens, maintenance of alms houses, provisions against drought and famine in the shape of public granaries and storehouses were the most notable among the works of social piety. The king was not only the head of the executive but also the supreme administrator of justice and final court of appeal for criminal cases. In peace-time, the Senāpatis, as the king's deputies, functioned as judges.[1] As for the administration of criminal justice, the best system was one which prevailed among the Vajjians, which consisted of several courts, the lowest being represented by the Vohārikas and the highest

[1] *Jātaka*, ii, p. 186.

by the *rājā* or President. One of the intermediate courts was a tribunal constituted by representatives of the eight confederate clans (*aṭṭhakulikā*). The lower court could acquit the accused on its own authority but in order to punish him, had to refer the case to the next higher court.[1]

Along with the prevention of famine, the suppression of thieves (*corā*) was one of the principal tests of a successful reign. The famines, distinguished in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 131) into three kinds—Cañcu, Śvetāsthi (= Pali Setaṭṭhika)[2] and Śalākāvṛtti, occurred mainly on account of the dearth of rain-water (*anāvṛṣṭi*). But the failure of crops or scarcity of food was due as well to floods, the action of fire and similar other causes. The *Divyāvadāna* preserves a tradition of a twelve-year-famine of the Śvetāsthi type which caused a dire distress to the people of Kāsī; the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* mentions a famine which broke out in Northern India during the Buddha's time and the Jaina tradition refers to one during the reign of Candagutta Moriya.

The *coras*, as distinguished from ordinary thieves[3], were as follows:—burglars (*sandhichedakā*), plunderers of villages (*gāmaghātacorā*), highway robbers (*panthaghātacorā*), message-

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1 Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, pp. 102-103.

2 *Vinaya*, iii, p. 6; iv, p. 23.

3 *Saṃyutta*, ii, p. 188.

senders (*pesanakacorā*) and criminal tribes living in forests (*aṭavicorā*). They were either isolated individuals or formed different gangs, each under a ring-leader (corajeṭṭha). The criminal laws provided for brutal and horrible forms of punishment, including putting on stakes and throwing down from a precipice, from which circumstances the precipice of a Rājagaha hill became known as Corapapāta. Sometimes the oppressive rulers or their officers were in league with the gangs of thieves or robbers. In a solitary instance, an educated Brahmin youth turned out to be a fierce highway robber and became an object of great terror to the people of Kosala and even to so powerful a king as Pasenadi.[1] Among the epidemics, the most virulent was known as *ahivātakaroga*, which was a kind of plague that broke out at Rājagaha, Sāvatthī and other places. The free supply of medicinal roots, fruits and herbs was another act of social piety on the part of the righteous king.[2]

The Raṭṭhikas, Pettanikas and Bhojakas were three classes of royal officers as well as hereditary feudal lords or landowners and landholders. They seem to have been represented mostly by the Khattiyas.

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[1] *Majjhima*, ii, p. 101f.

[2] Law, Drugs and Diseases known to the early Buddhists, in *Woolner Commemoration Volume*, p. 163.

Though the Khattiyas were the warriors *par excellence*, the recruits to the military regiments of a kingdom or a territory were not necessarily all Khattiyas. As noted before, even those born of Brāhmaṇa families adopted the profession of *Yodhājīvas*. In the Jātakas, however, the Uggaputtas occupying superior military ranks are all described as Khattiyas. In a notable instance, we find that a Khattiya prince renounced his right to kingship in favour of his sister and took to trade as his profession on this condition, however, that his brothers, the reigning kings, would exempt him from the payment of duties and taxes.[1] This fact goes only to prove that even the Khattiya traders, if not otherwise exempted, were as much liable to pay duties and taxes as other members of the trade. The same as to the gahapatis whether they were Khattiyas, Brāhmaṇas or Vessas. There were wealthy and influential persons among the Khattiyas as among other classes of people. It is only those Khattiyas, among whom the tribal tradition formed a strong social tie, who were naturally inclined towards endogamy and strict adherence to the rules of commensality.

Though the term *gahapati* in its general sense was applicable to all who lived the life of

[1] *Jātaka*, iv, p. 84.

a householder, irrespective of classes or social grades, by general usage it was restricted to the seṭṭhis or bankers who were the best representatives of the Vessas. They were the gahapatis *par excellence*, just as the Khattiyas were the warriors *par excellence*. There are single instances of gahapatis: Anāthapiṇḍika, Meṇḍaka, Citta, Nakulapitā, Potaliya, Sandhāna and Hāliddhikāni, where gahapati 'almost assumes the function of a title'.[1] The canonical Pali texts speak often of the Khattiya-mahāsālas or wealthy nobles, Brāhmaṇa-mahāsālas or wealthy Brahmins and Gahapati-mahāsālas or wealthy gentry.[2] Buddhaghosa gives the minimum monetary strength of each of the three classes of mahāsālas, that of the Khattiya being the highest.[3] The gahapatis as financiers figured as highly important persons in the royal court. As bankers they controlled the whole of trade and commerce, agriculture and industry. They were at the same time the business magnates in a city or town. They married within their own class, their main consideration at the time of marriage being *samānajāti* and *samānagotta*.[4] Their wives and daughters as female members of aristocratic families strictly observed the Purdah system, and as such

1 Rhys Davids and Stede, *Pali-English Dict.*, sub voce *gahapati*.

2 *Saṃyutta*, i, p. 71; *Niddesa*, ii (Culla-N.), sec. 135.

3 Law, *Srāvastī*, p. 19.

4 *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, ii, p. 218.

remained concealed from public view save and except on a day of religious festival.[1] Besides the kings and wealthy nobles, there were others who could well afford to keep and maintain the gaṇikās or prostitutes. An idea of the cash hoardings of the rich bankers of the time might be gathered from the fact, however exaggerated, that the banker Anāthapiṇḍika of Sāvatthī easily spent fifty-four crores of gold coins for the purchase of Prince Jeta's garden, erection of a monastic establishment thereon and its formal and festive consecration.[2] The hoards had to be carried as cart-loads. A single piece of jewellery presented to Visākhā[3] by her father-in-law, the banker Migāra, cost him one hundred thousand. As dowry she received from her father, Dhanañjayaseṭṭhi of Sāketa and originally of Rājagaha, five hundred carts full of money, five hundred carts full of vessels of gold, etc., ghee, rice, husked and winnowed, also ploughs, ploughshares and other farm implements, and five hundred carts with three slave-women in each, along with big cattle, bulls and milch cows.[4]

Though by definition the Vessas formed the third grade of the Indo-Aryan society with

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1 *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, iii, p. 100f.

2 *Vinaya*, Cullavagga, vi, 4.9.; *Jātaka*, i, p. 92.

3 E. J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, pp. 105-6.

4 Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 901.

trade and commerce, agriculture and farming as their distinctive occupation, in point of fact, there was hardly any social grade which did not participate in production, distribution, export and import, sale and purchase of trade commodities. So on the basis of occupation alone, the social distinction accorded to the Vessas as a class could not be maintained. Trade and farming as the occupation of the Vessas could be taken to mean that the economic aspect of social life was dominated by persons born in the Vessa families, especially the gahapatis.

In the *Apadāna*, a young banker (*seṭṭhiputta*) gives the following description of himself. Born in the family of a banker, he was endowed with the five pleasures of the senses. While inside his palatial residence, he was entertained by the dancing girls with music, vocal and instrumental, and operas. The young and childish maidens and others of the female retinue pleased and teased him with jokes and pranks. The barbers, bath-attendants, cooks, wreath-makers, jewellers, acrobats and wrestlers made him gay day and night. The poor and needy, all classes of beggars and vagrants appeared at his door along with religious mendicants of various denominations. The traders and merchants from various countries, even those from the distant kingdom of China

(Cinaraṭṭha) and Soṇṇabhūmi (Suvaṇṇabhūmi) visited him. The basket-makers (*nalakārā*), weavers (*pesakārā*), leather-workers (*cammakārā*), carpenters (*tacchakā*), metal-workers (*kammārā*), blacksmiths, goldsmiths, tinsmiths, jewellers (*maṇikārā*), potters (*kumbhakārā*), cloth merchants (*dussikā*), bow and arrow makers (*usukārā, cāpakārā*), perfumers (*gandhikā*), tailors (*tunnavāyā*), dyers (*rajakārā*), oilmen (*telikā*), fuel-suppliers (*kaṭṭhahārā*), water-carriers (*udahārā*), household servants (*pessikā*), cooks (*sūpikā*), artists or clerks (*rūpadakkhā*), door-keepers (*dovārikā*), sentinels (*anīkaṭṭhā*), drain-cleaners (*sandhikā*), sweepers (*puppha-cchaḍḍakā*), elephant-riders (*hatthārohā*), and elephant-trainers (*hatthipālā*) used to visit him either for jobs and orders or for selling their wares.[1]

In a well-laid city or town, rooms had to be made for the residence of the various classes of Khattiyas, Brāhmaṇas, Vessas, Suddas elephant-riders, horsemen, chariot-drivers, foot-soldiers, bowmen, sword-bearers, standard-bearers, adjutants, suppliers of food to the army, *uggas* (high-born warriors), military scouts, brave and valiant fighters, helmet-wearers and other fighting units, slaves, wage-earners, wrestlers, cooks, hotel-keepers, barbers, bath-

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[1] *Apadāna*, ii, p. 357f.

attendants, turners, wreath-makers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, workers in lead, tin, iron and brass, blacksmiths, jewellers, weavers, potters, leather-workers, chariot and wagon-makers, ivory-workers, rope-makers, comb-makers, spinners, basket-makers, bow, string and arrow-makers, decorators, paint-makers, dyers, washermen, tailors, money-exchangers, cloth-merchants, perfumers, grass-cutters and fodder-suppliers, fuel-suppliers, servants, sellers of leaves, fruits and roots, sellers of rice and sweetmeats, sellers of fish, meat and wine, professional actors, dancers, acrobats, magicians, ballad-reciters, corpse-burners, sweepers, *veṇas*, *nesādas*,[1] courtezans, dancing girls, slave girls carrying water, and traders and merchants from various countries and places.[2]

The hereditary craftsmen, or those who followed professional callings, such as those of architects, mechanics, carpenters, smiths, masons, ivory-workers, dyers, weavers, carriage-builders, leather-workers, potters, jewellers, fishermen, butchers, and the rest, organised themselves into various guilds (*seṇis*, *pūgas*), agreeing to be governed by their own laws and customs. They functioned either as producers, manufacturers, suppliers or sellers. There was

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[1] Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, p. 24f.

[2] *Milinda*, p. 331.

no hard and fast line to be drawn between one and the other, for the producer or the manufacturer might himself appear to be a seller, shop or storekeeper. Those who followed a common profession, were led by a gregarious instinct to settle down or live in one and the same locality, from which circumstance the localities came to be distinguished as vaḍḍhaki-gāma, kammāra-gāma, kumbhakāra-gāma, and the like. By their habitual adherence to the rules of marriage and eating within their own class or group, the guilds were being hardened into castes. The social process was further complicated by the general tendency to segregate one class of workers from another within the same profession, the oil-pressers, for instance, being distinguished from the owners of oilman-stores, the elephant-trainers from the elephant-drivers, the coach-builders from the coach-drivers. Among the barbers, washermen, shampooers, etc., the degrees of their family prestige depended on their working for the royal household or for that of the courtiers, noblemen, senāpatis, purohitas, and the like. The gradation proceeded almost by insensible degrees. Although, as a rule, the Vessas, Suddas, and outcastes did not or could not aspire to marry from the Khattiya and Brāhmaṇa families, it was not always possible to prevent the intermingling of the various classes.

The traditional number of cities and towns in Jambudīpa varies from sixty to eighty-four thousand, which is evidently an exaggerated figure. Sixteen were the great countries, as we noted, and six were the most prosperous and flourishing cities. The bulk of the populace lived in *gāmas* or villages. The number of inhabitants in a village might vary from thirty to one thousand families. The common occupation of the villagers was agriculture or farming. The cultivable lands around the villages were known as *gāmakhettas.* Every care was taken to protect them from dangers. Fences [1] (vati) were erected as protection against wild animals, and snares [2] were laid to catch wild birds. Watchmen [3] were appointed to keep watch on them. Care was taken to irrigate the fields.[4] The holdings might be small enough which could be managed by the members of one family with the help, in some cases, of a hired man [5], or they might be big enough, extending over one thousand karīsas (acres) or more.[6]

The khettas were cultivated by means of ploughs driven by oxen.[7] Soil was turned with

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1 *Jātaka*, i, 215.

2 *Ibid.*, i, 143.

3 *Ibid.*, ii, 110.

4 *Ibid.*, iv, 167; v, 412.

5 *Ibid.*, i, 277.

6 *Ibid.*, iii, 293.

7 *Ibid.*, ii, 165.

spades and watered by means of conduits. Seeds were sown at the usual time and crops, when ripe, were cut, threshed on a prepared mould (khalamaṇḍala) and then taken to the granary.

Various kinds of crops were grown on the soil. Rice was the chief article of food [1] and grown abundantly. There is mention of different kinds of rice, viz., *sāli*, *vīhi*, *taṇḍula*, etc. Of the other food crops, the chief were barley (yava) and millet (kaṅgu), grams, beans and sugarcane.[2] Cocoanut trees were cultivated on an extensive scale.

Besides these there were grown spices like pepper (marica), mustard, dry ginger, garlic, oilseeds like castor, fibre crops like cotton. These were the chief agricultural produces. Grass was collected for domestic animals.

Among the domestic animals, cattle were held in high esteem as a source of wealth. Dairy farming was in an advanced state and there was an abundant supply of milk, curd, butter and ghee. Sheep were reared for wool and other necessities.

There were jungles all over the country. Trees were cut for wood and timber. A number of people liked animal hunting in forests. There was a regular industry of catching birds like

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1 *Jātaka*, i, 340.

2 *Ibid.*, i. 339; *ucchukkhettānikarontā*.

parrots, peacocks, quails, partridges, mallards, etc., by means of snares that were sold in the markets.

The land was enjoyed by the cultivators by the payment of a tithe to the kings in the monarchies. Tithe was calculated as a share of the raw produce levied in kind, the amount varied from 1/6 to 1/12 portion of the produce. It was levied according to the wish of the ruler and was collected at the barn doors [1] or in the fields by the village syndicate, or headman (gāmabhojaka) or by an official (mahāmatta). The king could dispose of all abandoned and forest lands,[2] as he liked and all ownerless lands were acquired by the crown. The king could remit the tithe to any person.[3] In case of cultivated lands, owners could sell or dispose of them in any way they liked.

The agricultural produces and industrial goods were sold in markets, inland and foreign. The inland and foreign trades flourished side by side. The export and import of goods were carried on along land-routes and water-routes. Accordingly the merchants and traders were distinguished as *thalapathakammikā* or those who followed land-routes, and *jalapathakammikā* or those who followed water-routes.[4]

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[1] *Jātaka*, ii, p. 378.
[2] *Dīgha*, i, p. 87.
[3] *Jātaka*, iv, p. 169.
[4] *Ibid.*, i, p. 121.

As regards the inland land-routes, two were the main: Dakkhiṇāpatha or the south-western route which extended from Rājagaha to Patiṭṭhāna on the Godhāvarī *via* Sāvatthī and Sāketa,[1] and Uttarāpatha or the north-western route which extended from Sāvatthī and Kosambī to Takkhasīlā *via* Madhurā across the sandy desert of Rajputana. There were also local roads connected with these two great routes. The Apaṇṇaka-Jātaka speaks of the five kinds of wild (kantārā): the maru, vaṇṇu or nirudaka (sandy), cora (infested with robbers), vāḷa (infested with wild animals), amanussa (dominated by evil spirits), and appabhakkha (where food was scarce).[2] Thus the journey through them was perilous.[3] The merchants and traders who used wagons or bullock-carts were known as Satthavāhā or caravan merchants. A caravan consisted, in some instances, of five hundred wagons and its course was guided by a land-pilot (thalaniyāmaka), the direction being determined in relation to the position of stars.[4] The fords were crossed with the help of boats, and when the river-beds dried up, with the help of strong local bulls or bullocks.[5]

[1] *Sutta-nipāta*, vv, 976-7 and 1011–13; *Buddhist India*, pp. 30f. and 103f.

[2] *Jātaka*, i, p. 99.

[3] *Ibid.*, i, p. 107f.; *Dīgha*, i, p. 73; *Majjhima*, i, p. 276.

[4] *Ibid.*, i, p. 107.

[5] *Ibid.*, i, p. 194f.

The Jātakas testify to the existence of trade-relations between Benares and Ujjain,[1] Videha and Kasmīra-Gandhāra,[2] Benares and Sāvatthī,[3] Rājagaha and Sāvatthī,[4] Magadha and Sovīra.[5] The Satthavāhas had to carry arms as protection against highway robbers and other contingencies. The merchandise was transported by means of country boats that plied along the rivers of Jambudīpa, upwards along the Ganges as far west as Sahajāti, along the Yamunā as far as Kosambī; downwards along the Ganges as far as Campā and Tāmalitti.[6]

Foreign trade was carried on by sea, and in some instances, partly by sea and partly by land. The Bāveru-Jātaka speaks of India's maritime intercourse with Babylonia, described as a birdless country,[7] The Suppāraka-Jātaka relates the voyage of a merchant ship carrying six hundred passengers for four months across the six seas, the destination not given.[8] The Saṅkha-Jātaka offers us an account of the wreck of a merchant ship on its way to Suvaṇṇa-bhūmi, the ship being 800 cubits in length, 600

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[1] *Jātaka*, ii, p. 248. [2] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 365.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 294f.

[4] *Sutta-nipāta*, vv, 1012-3; *Buddhist India*, p. 103.

[5] *Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, p. 336.

[6] *Buddhist India*, p. 103.

[7] *Jātaka*, No. 339.

[8] *Ibid.*, No. 463.

in width and 20 fathoms in depth. In this case, the merchant was a Brāhmaṇa of Benares.[1] The Sīlānisaṃsa-Jātaka narrates the story of the wreck of another merchant ship in the midst of the ocean. In this instance, the merchant was a barber.[2] The Samuddavāṇija-Jātaka narrates the story of the arrival at an island in the sea of a thousand families of carpenters in a large ship built by them.[3] The Mahājanaka-Jātaka relates the story of how Mahājanaka reached Suvaṇṇabhūmi from Videha in a ship with an accommodation for seven hundred caravans with their beasts.[4] The ship is said to have made 700 leagues in seven days. The Valāhassa-Jātaka tells us the story of the arrival of five hundred shipwrecked merchants from Benares at the town of Sirisavatthu in Tambapaṇṇidīpa, the inhabitants of which were mostly daring sea-going merchants. A matriarchal system of society prevailed in this part of the country owing to the uncertainty of the return of the husbands.[5] As pointed out by Rhys Davids, in the Pāli Nikāyas, mention is made of sea-voyages out of sight of land and of long voyages

1 *Jātaka*, No. 442.

2 *Ibid.*, No. 190.

3 *Ibid.*, No. 466.

4 *Ibid.*, No. 539.

5 *Ibid.*, ii, p. 127f. For details of India's sea-borne trade, see R. K. Mookerjee, *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the earliest times* (1912).

lasting even for six months.[1] The course of the ships was steered by the Niyyāmaka or water-pilot [2], the direction of land being sometimes ascertained by the flight of crows (*disākākā*).[3] Rhys Davids further observes 'Later texts, of about the third century B.C. speak of voyages down the Ganges from Benares to the mouth of the river and thence across the Indian Ocean to the opposite coast of Burma, and even from Bharukaccha (the modern Broach) round Cape Comorin to the same destination'. [4]

The *Mahāniddesa* [5] speaks of India's commerce by sea with Yona and Paramayona. If the first place be located in the Punjab, the second place must be located either in Western Asia or identified with some Greek island in the Mediterranean, if not with Ionia proper. Towards the east, it mentions Kālamukha, Suvaṇṇabhūmi, Vesuṅga, Verāpatha, Takkola, Tamali, Tambapaṇṇī and Java as countries visited by the Indian sea-going merchants and speaks also of the manner in which they followed the difficult land-routes after reaching the harbour. Of the places mentioned,

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1 *Dīgha*, i, p. 222; *Saṃyutta*, v, p. 51.

2 *Jātaka*, iv, p. 138.

3 *Ibid.*, iii, p. 267.

4 *Buddhist India*, p. 96.

5 *Mahāniddesa*, pp. 154-155, 415.

Kālamukha may be identified with the Arakan coast and Suvaṇṇabhūmi may be located in Lower Burma.[1] The next four places may be shown to correspond to Ptolemy's Chryse Chora, Besyngeitai, Berbai and Takkola. Tamali is identified by Sylvain Levi with Tāmralinga in Malay Peninsula. Tambapaṇṇi and Java are no other than Ceylon and the island of Java. The *Apadāna*[2] expressly mentions the visit of merchants from Malaya (Malay Peninsula) and the distant land of Cīna (China).

It is difficult to say what the sea merchants traded upon and the nature of the articles of export and import. The Suppāraka-Jātaka[3] shows that they made their fortune by collecting gems, corals, etc., from the seas. They appear to have traded also in muslins, the finer sorts of cloth, cutlery and armour, brocades, embroideries, perfumes, drugs, ivory works, jewellery and gold.[4]

Within the country, produce was brought to markets for sale. Benares was one of the most important commercial centres. The other big cities also commanded a considerable amount of trade and exchange. Foodstuffs for the towns

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[1] R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, p. 56f.; Lévi, *Études Asiatiques*, Vol. II, Ch. II.

[2] *Apadāna*, i, p. 2.

[3] No. 463.

[4] *Buddhist India*, p. 98.

were brought to the gates, apparently from villages and the sale transactions were carried on there.[1] There were *āpaṇas* or shops where commodities were displayed for sale [2], while there were *antarāpaṇas* where things were stored before sale.[3] Merchants could enter into partnership or temporary partnership and there could arise disputes as to the shares of profit.[4] The commodities sold in these *āpaṇas* were textile fabrics, groceries and oil, green groceries [5], grain [6], perfumes and flowers [7], articles of gold and jewellery, carriages, arrows, etc. The hawkers carried their wares [8] for sale in portable trays. For the sale of strong drinks there were taverns known as *pānāgāras*.[9] Prices were not fixed and there was competition by which the dealers wanted to prevail upon the purchasers. The vice of adulteration was also not unknown. On the part of the buyers there was the haggling of price.[10] Things for the royal households were purchased by an officer known as Aggahakāraka who fixed the prices of the required commodities. The prices so fixed could not, however, be changed by appeal. There was also a check on the officer

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[1] *Jātaka*, iv, p. 445.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 267.
[3] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 55, 350.
[4] *Ibid.*, i, p. 404.
[5] *Ibid.*, i, p. 411.
[6] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 267.
[7] *Ibid.*, i, p. 290f.; iv, p. 82.
[8] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 21.
[9] *Ibid.*, i, p. 251f.
[10] *Ibid.*, i, p. 111f.

from the side of the king. All native and foreign goods imported into the city were assessed and a duty was levied upon them.

Coins appear to have been the chief medium of exchange, but the more primitive means of barter was also not unknown. Barter was not, however, the usual practice. In the Jātakas almost all kinds of prices, fees, pensions, fines, loans, and incomes have usually been stated in terms of coins of different denominations. Among coins there is mention of *kākaṇika*, *māsaka*, *aḍḍhamāsaka*, *pāda*, *aḍḍhapāda*, *kahāpaṇa* and *aḍḍhakahāpaṇa*.[1] Silver coins do not appear to have been in use and mention of gold coins like *rikkha*[2] or *suvaṇṇa* is late and doubtful. There is mention also of cowry shells (*sippikāni*), but they were probably not used as currency, and the coins mentioned above were probably all made of copper.[3]

Besides actual currency there were several other legal instruments. Mention is made of letters of credit by means of which big merchants

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[1] *Buddhistic Studies*, ed. by B. C. Law, Chap. XV; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 53, 62, etc.

[2] Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 259. It is also called *nikkha*; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichacl Lectures*, 1921, pp. 53, 62, 63, 64, etc.; Pran Nath, *A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India*, p. 85f.

[3] For details, see Mrs. Rhys Davids, Economic Conditions according to Early Buddhist Literature, *Cambridge History of India*, I, Chap. VIII.

in large cities used to get money from fellow merchants. There is also mention of promissory notes.

There were no banks, and banking facilities were few. Loans could be taken. Money-lending was looked upon as an honest calling but this had already given rise to profit-mongering. Money was lent against bonds (*paṇṇā*) and there were instances of bad debts which were never repaid. But money-lending was done by professional money-lenders while ordinary people used to hoard up their wealth in piles and conceal them underground or deposited with friends. The nature and amount of such hoarded wealth were recorded on gold or copper plates.[1]

In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* we have mention of *Satta-vaṇijjā* or trade in living beings.[2] Buddhaghosa[3] explains the word as meaning *manussa-vikkaya* or traffic in human beings. This traffic might be taken to imply, among other things, traffic in women and slave trade. Prostitution as a social institution was in existence in India from the earliest times, and it had originated, as suggested by some scholars,

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[1] *Buddhist India*, p. 101f.

[2] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, iii, p. 208.

[3] A celebrated Buddhist commentator who flourished in the 5th century A.D. Wrote many important Pali commentaries—Law, *The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa* (1923).

from abandoned harems of kings, nobles, bankers and others.[1] The Pali literature clearly attests that some of the leading gaṇikās or courtezans of the time made a profitable trade of prostitution by maintaining a regular brothel containing five hundred prostitutes.[2]

In the early Buddhist texts, mention is made of four kinds of slaves: *antojātā*,[3] *dhanakkītā*, *karamarānītā*, and *samaṁdāsabyamupagatā*, i.e., those who were born of slave parents or begotten on slave women, those purchased with money, those who were reduced to slavery under coercion by bandits, and those who took to slavery of their own accord. The Jātakas contain instances where the slaves were bought for seven hundred *kahāpaṇas*.[4]

Scholars agree that there was nothing like what afterwards came to be the rigorous caste system in India at the time of the rise of Jainism and Buddhism. But this may not wholly be the correct reading of the fact. The evidence of the later Vedic texts is conclusive that even after death, the custom was to erect sepulchres or tombs of different heights to maintain the distinction between the dead

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[1] Barua, *Introduction to History of Indian Prostitution* by Sinha and Basu.

[2] *Jātaka*, iii, pp. 60f. and 435f.; Law, *Women in Buddhist Literature*, p. 32f.

[3] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 300; *Jātaka*, No. 545.

[4] *Jātaka*, iii, p. 343.

belonging to the four divisions of the people. Though some of the Ṛgvedic hymns presuppose the prevalence of the custom of the burial, burial was subsequently replaced by cremation, although the cremation was followed by the consecration of the bones, arranged limb by limb in mounds. The Vedic texts speak of two kinds of *citā*; *agnidagdhā*, where the corpses were burnt and *anagnidagdhā* where they were not burnt. This was precisely the custom in some parts of India in Buddha's time. Accordingly the early Pali texts refer to two different grounds for the disposal of the dead: āḷāhana (Ardhamāgadhī, Āḍāhaṇa), where the dead bodies were cremated and sivathikā or āmakasusāna where the corpses were simply thrown away to undergo the natural process of decomposition or to be devoured by carnivorous beasts, birds, insects, etc. In cases of larger grounds they were placed in charge of susānagopakas[1] who were Caṇḍālas. The texts also refer to an aboriginal custom of burying the dead and washing the bones (aṭṭhidopana)[2] with drunkenness and revelry which was prevalent in southern India.

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[1] *Dhammapada Commentary*, i, p. 69.

[2] *Aṅguttara*, v, p. 216; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 84. *Vide* B. C. Law, '*Social, Economical and Religious Conditions of Ancient India according to the Buddhist Texts*'—*Pathak Commemoration Volume*, pp. 68–79.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION

The social and economic life of a country considered apart from religion, constitutes a sphere of collective existence in which human activities are directed to the twofold pursuit of *kāma* and *attha*, i.e., of worldly pleasure and advantage. Religion, on the other hand, constitutes a sphere of collective or individual existence in which human activities are directed to the twofold pursuit of *dhamma* [1] and *mokkha*, i.e., of perfection of conduct and perfection of personality. By its definition, religion is essentially a system of faith and worship implying as it does human recognition of a personal God entitled to obedience and its effect on conduct, etc. As pursuit of *dhamma*, religion seeks to mould and remould, adjust and readjust human life, individual and collective, as expressed in various ways in conduct. It either sublimates the grosser elements in human nature or sanctifies all that is normally considered right, proper, good, noble, pure, refined, beautiful, appreciable and enjoyable. As pursuit of *mokkha*, it implies self-alienation

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[1] E. J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 78.

from all things and all interests that connect us with the world. It seeks to bring the individual to a state of self-realisation and self-perfection. Here we are to consider religion only in that aspect in which it may be treated as a potent factor of human life and civilisation.

The early texts of Jainism and Buddhism reveal to us a wonderful and highly interesting picture of Jambudvīpa in which the habitual religion of the masses of people was in its varying degrees and forms in conflict and compromise with the higher religions preached by various new schools of thought and new orders of *religieux*. The masses of people following their habitual religion were broadly distinguished as Devadhammikas or Devavatikas from others who professed to have belonged to distinct orders of hermits and ascetics, among whom discipleship played a prominent part.[1] As Devadhammikas or Devavatikas, the masses of people are said to have been divided into diverse groups of worshippers. The Devadhamma was in its essence some form of a religion of Bhakti, and as such its expression was emotional and its form ritualistic or ceremonial. The taking and keeping of vows in propitiation

[1] *Culla Niddesa*, p. 173f.; Barua in *I.H.Q.*, iii, 1927, p. 251; *Barhut*, iii, p. 69.

or honour of the worshipped was its prominent external feature. The connection between the worshipper and the worshipped lay through worship which always implied an act of offering in fulfilment of the vow or promise. The object of worship was the attainment of a desired end. This popular religion of worship was based upon the give-and-take principle. It was through prayer that the worshipper sought to have a communion or communication with the worshipped. The mediation by a holy person was considered necessary. So the office of a competent priest was always in requisition. From the side of the worshipper no amount of offering was considered sufficient and no amount of praise adequate to bring out the divine attributes of the worshipped, who was in each case a deva or devatā, a personal god or goddess, malevolent or benevolent. Thus in Deva-dhamma representing the popular religion of India a belief in the presence of a divine personality was the *conditio sine qua non.* This personality was either a god or a deity. It was marked throughout by a process of personification of the divine attributes or deification of the worshipped. The distinctive nomenclature for the different groups of worshippers was sought to be determined by the grammatical rule *yā yeṣaṃ devatā,* the worshippers are to be distinguished by the name of the deity they

worship.[1] Accordingly the devatā or deity was defined by the aphorism: *ye yesaṃ dakkhiṇeyyā te tesaṃ devatā.*[2] 'They are the deities to them to whom they are worthy of homage.'

In the *Culla Niddesa* and other Pali canonical texts, the devas are broadly divided into three classes: sammutidevā, i.e., gods by common acceptance, upapattidevā, i.e., gods by origination and visuddhidevā, i.e., gods by purity. In the first class are placed the kings, princes and the queens and princesses; in the second class, the various deities worshipped by the people; and in the third, the founders of religions, their great disciples and other saintly personages. The books also testify to the prevalence of a general tendency towards finding out the highest personality among the devas (atideva), among the sages (muni-muni) and among the leaders (gaṇa-gaṇī). In the Devadhamma-Jātaka,[3] the gods of popular worship are typified by the sun and the moon. There is a longer list given in the *Culla Niddesa* which includes aggi or firegod, nāga or serpent, suvaṇṇa (suparṇa), i.e., garuḍa, yakkha, asura, gandhabba, mahārāja, canda, suriya, Inda, Brahmā, minor gods and quarter-gods (disā). The list also includes such deified

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[1] The rule is implied in *Culla Niddesa*, p. 174. This is the same as Pāṇini's rule *sāsya devatā*.

[2] *Culla Niddesa*, p. 174.

[3] No. 6.

heroes as Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Puṇṇabhadda and Maṇibhadda. In it are included also the representatives of such religious orders as those of Ājīvikas, Nigaṇṭhas, Jaṭilas, Paribbājakas[1] and Aviruddhakas. The list also mentions elephants, horses, cows, dogs and crows among the objects of worship.[2] The list given is not exhaustive. There are passages in which the upapattidevas are located in three spheres of the universe, those dwelling on the earth being called bhummā or terrestrial, those in the firmament as antarīkkhacarā, and those in the highest region (ākāsaṭṭhā). At the time of the rise of Jainism and Buddhism it is inconceivable that the masses of people paid their homage to a particular deity of this class to the exclusion of the rest. On the other hand, the evidence tends to prove that all of them were included in a growing pantheon. And yet it is not incorrect to suppose that the masses were divided into several groups, each with its own supreme hero or object of worship, e.g., the Vāsudevavatikas formed a group which had Vāsudeva as its hero, and so as to the rest. That these popular groups represented different classes of devotees is evident from Pāṇini's rule appertaining to Bhakti. As illustrations, Pāṇini mentions the worshippers of Vāsudeva, Arjuna, Desa and

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[1] Law, *Historical Gleanings*, Chap. II.

[2] *Culla Niddesa*, p. 173f.

Janapada.[1] The process of amalgamation must have taken place gradually with the inclusion of all the deities in a common pantheon. In doing so a classification of them was necessary and the result was a hierarchy in different forms.

The hierarchy as developed in early Buddhism placed the four grades of arūpabrahmas as the highest in the scale, below them the sixteen grades of rūpabrahmas, below their ranks the six classes of kāmāvacaradevas, the lowest of them being represented by the four mahārājas or lokapālas exercising their suzerainty over the rest of the gods, and the demigods, whether ākāsaṭṭhas, antarīkkhacaras or bhummas. Below the kāmāvacara gods are placed ordinary men, below them the animal world, below it the spirit world and below it the different purgatories. Even above the arūpabrahmas are placed the saintly Buddhist personalities called Ariyas (elect) forming eight grades of spirituality and above all stands the incomparable Buddha.

The hierarchy as conceived in early Jainism seems to place the Vemānikadevas as the highest in the scale, then the Jyotiṣīs, the Vāṇamantaras and Bhavanavāsis. The Vemānika gods and angels are represented by *Sohamma Īsāṇa*, *Saṇankumāra*, *Māhinda Bambbhā* (Brahmā), *Lantaga*, *Mahāsukka*, *Sahassārā*, *Acchutapadī*

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[1] *Pāṇini*, IV, 3.95–100.

and the rest. Māhinda's heaven is the heaven of the thirty-three gods together with the lokapālas. In the Jyotiṣī class are placed the sun, the moon, the planets, comets and stars including Rāhu. The Vāṇamantradevas comprise the bhūtas, pisācas, yakkhas, rākshasas, kinnaras, kiṁpurisas, gandhabbas, etc. The asuras, nāgas, supaṇṇas, vijju (lightning), fire, continent (dīva), ocean (udahi), disākumāras (quarter-gods), pavaṇa (wind-gods) and thunder-gods (thaṇiya) represent the Bhavanavāsis. Below them are the earth-lives, water-lives, fire-lives, and wind-lives. Above all of them stands the incomparable Jina with his advanced disciples.[1] A similar hierarchy was developed by the Ājīvikas in their cosmography.[2]

As thoroughly discussed by Rhys Davids,[3] the two most important Pali suttas that contain the list of popular gods and deities are the Mahāsamaya and the Mahā-āṭānāṭiya. The real interest of these two suttas lies in the fact that they offer us the names of hosts of popular gods and goddesses affiliated to the realm of the four lokapālas: Dhataraṭṭha of the eastern quarter, Virūḷhaka of the southern quarter, Virupakkha of the western quarter, and Vessavaṇa Kuvera of the northern quarter. Evidently they were the guardians or presiding

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[1] *Aupapātika Sūtra*, secs. 32–37.

[2] *Dīgha*, i, p. 54.

[3] *Buddhist India*, Chap. 12.

deities of the four continents. Religious fancy led the people to locate the heaven of the thirty-three gods on the top of the Mount Sumeru and the world of the asuras at the bottom of it, below the water, and to conceive a protracted war between the thirty-three gods and the asuras for the possession of Inda's or Sakka's domain. The formation of the hierarchy in ancient Indian pantheon must have resulted from a long course of development of religious ideas and beliefs and of conflict and compromise between them.

As for the higher religions, mention is frequently made of the contemporary representatives of the ancient Vedic sages generally enumerated as ten in number. They formed the sotthiya or mahāsāla class of Brahmins from among whom the Purohitas or house-priests of the kings and wealthy nobles, etc., were chosen and appointed. We have mention also of the teachers of the early upanishadic schools such as the Addhariyas (Aitareyas ?), Tittiriyas (Taittīriyas), Chandokas (Chāndogyas), Chandāvas (Śātapathas ?) and Bavharijjas (Bāhvṛcas).[1]

In addition to them, the Books speak of the Tāpasas, Paribbājakas and Samaṇas of different orders. Among the Tāpasas some are honoured as *isis* or sages. The Paribbājakas, mostly

[1] *Dīgha*, i, p. 237.

Brahmins by birth, are broadly distinguished as Ekadaṇḍikas and Tedaṇḍikas. The Samaṇas were typified by the followers of the six teachers known to the Buddhists as six titthiyas. But to this class belonged also the Sakyaputtiyas or followers of Buddha Gautama.

In the opinion of Hopkins [1], Vedic religion or Brahmanism was confined to a small section of the people of India. It was rather an island in the sea, the majority of the people following their own religions which consisted in beliefs in spells, incantations, charms and spirits. This acute observation of Hopkins is true only in so far as it appears that the Brahmins as a class including even those who were householders and followed different callings, belonged to a distinct religious order. According to the Brahmanic doctrine, the fulfilment of the religious ideal was to proceed by stages, three or four, called brahmacarya, gārhasthya and vānaprastha, the third culminating in the life of the Parivrājaka, Yati, Bhikṣu or Sannyasin. This is well borne out by the Buddha's description of the five types of Brahmins in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. But if Brahmanism was based upon the Vedas as it professed to be, in no stage of its history, it was free from the belief in the efficacy of spells, incantations, charms and the like. As a matter

[1] *Religions of India*, Chap. IX.

of fact, Brahmanism was the only form of higher religion in India which could affiliate all the popular cults without any feeling of contradiction. The religious beliefs and practices grew up among different tribes, races and nations and were cherished by them with veneration and joy. It was left to the founders and exponents of the higher religions to decide how far and in which manner these were to be utilised, modified, improved or replaced. But we shall see anon, in spite of the apparent victory and predominance of the higher religions over the folk, the latter always held the ground and the sum total of results of the age-long conflict was nothing but a widening of its scope and enrichment of its contents. The folk religion afforded indeed the living ground of synthesis of contending faiths. And with the march of time when it became sufficiently strong and self-conscious, it asserted itself as a great religion of Bhakti influencing the whole domain of the higher faiths, Jain, Buddhist, and all.

We have in the Pali canonical texts a faithful account of the Vedic religion as practised by the Sotthiyas and Mahāsālas of the age. On its emotional side, it consisted in the invocation of Inda, Soma, Varuṇa, Īsāna, Pajāpati, Brahmā, Mahiddhi and Yama. The invocation was practised either by way of supplication (*āyācanahetu*), or by way of prayer (*patthanahetu*), or by

that of eulogy (*abhinandanahetu*).[1] The invocation of Sirī, the Goddess of Luck, mentioned in the Brahmajāla and other suttas is also typically Vedic.[2] The Jātaka description of the four Indian Graces, viz., Āsā (Hope), Saddhā (Faith), Sirī (Luck) and Hirī (Modesty) as four daughters of Sakka, the king of the gods, is originally Vedic. From the Ṛgveda to the Jātaka, the trend of the change was from abstract conceptions of the four fundamental female attributes or virtues to their personifications.[3] In the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu* versions of the Āṭānāṭiya Sutta, the four varieties of the Goddess of Luck are associated with Virūḍhaka, the regent of the southern quarter, and they bear the appellations of Śrīmatī or Śriyāmatī, Yaśamatī, Yaśaḥprāptā or Lakshmīmatī, and Yaśodharā. The name of the Goddess as recorded in the Barhut label seems to correspond to Śrīmatī. The Barhut representation of Sirimā has, as shown by Rhys Davids, a faithful correspondence in her images as found in the temples of South India. The Siri-Kālakaṇṇi Jātaka (No. 383) introduces us to a Siridevī or Lakkhī, who is described as the daughter of Dhataraṭṭha, regent of the eastern quarter. In this Jātaka, Siri or Luck is compared and contrasted with Kālakarṇī or Misfortune, the

1 *Dīgha*, i, p. 244f.
2 *Ibid.*, i, p. 11.
3 *Jātaka*, v, p. 392f.

latter being described as the daughter of Virūpakkha, regent of the western quarter.[1] Thus religion sought through its mythology to create various types of Graces and to present them through poetry and art for the improvement of female types in society. Maṇimekhalā, the female angel of the sea, saving the sailing ships from wrecks, was a new but beautiful creation of the later age. She belonged to the realm of the four Mahārājas.[2]

On the sacrificial side, the same religion is said to have consisted in various forms of sacrifice involving the slaughter of cows, bulls, buffaloes, elephants, horses, goats, rams, etc.[3] The *Aśvamedha* (horse sacrifice) and *Vājapeya* (soma sacrifice), associated with secular Brahmanism, were two forms of sacrifice having a political significance.[4] The Purisamedha (human sacrifice) is also associated with the Vedic religion.[5] These sacrifices are said to have been insisted on by the Purohitas and the Mahāsāla class of Brahmins. These were attended with big feasts, offering of gifts and distribution of charities. The performance of great sacrifices

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[1] Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. II, p. 73.

[2] *Jātaka*, iv, p. 17; vi, p. 35; S. K. Aiyangar, *The Buddhism of Maṇimekhalai*. (*Buddhistic Studies*) p. 1f.

[3] *Sutta-nipāta*, Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta; *Dīgha*, i, Kūṭadanta Sutta.

[4] *Saṃyutta*, i, p. 76; *Aṅguttara*, ii, p. 42; *Sutta-nipāta*, v, 303.

[5] *Ibid.*

by the Vedic ascetics in the three regions of Gayākhetta was a notable annual function eagerly awaited by all the inhabitants of Aṅga and Magadha.[1] Similar sacrifices were performed in other parts of the country where the Brahmins of these classes lived or had influence.

On the ritualistic side, the Vedic religion or secular Brahmanism consisted, as we are told, in *Aggihutta* or oblations to fire, and diverse other kinds of homa.

The Buddhist and Jaina texts do not at all exaggerate the state of things when they inform us that secular Brahmanism consisted in spells, charms, incantations, exorcism, witchcraft, occultism, interpretation of dreams, signs, and cries of beasts and birds as foreshadowing coming events, soothsayings, etc. They correctly refer to the Atharva Veda as the scriptural source of the Brahmins from which followed the development and intermingling of popular occultism and science. It was indeed through the Atharvanic process that an alliance between secular Brahmanism and all primitive cults was possible, an alliance or blending from which even Hinduism of the 20th century is not free. Anyhow, as the books bear ample evidence, the Purohita and Yājaka classes of Brahmins fully utilised it in guiding the course of daily life of the

[1] Barua, *Gayā and Buddhagayā*, p. 110.

people. They were exactly the class to whom the kings, courtiers, and the rest turned for consultation and ministration when they were frightened by some unnatural dreams or occurrence of abnormal events, celestial or terrestrial, or by apparitions.[1] Curiously enough, the leaders of such highly protestant religions as Buddhism and Jainism could not help satisfying this insistent popular demand. The Buddha is represented as a better interpreter of dreams than the Brahmins, when he was consulted by king Pasenadi at the instance of his queen.[2] The improvisation of *Parittas* as saving chants in early Buddhism was undoubtedly due to the dire necessity of meeting the same popular demand.

The people of India in their worldly existence had certain fears which are enumerated in the Pali canonical texts as sixteen,[3] and in the *Milinda*[4] as seventeen, such fears as might arise from the tyranny of the ruler, from the action of thieves, robbers, etc., from the action of men, malevolent spirits, stars, water, air, fire, famine, disease, pestilence, reptiles and wild beasts, etc. They were naturally inclined to avail themselves of all possible means to avoid

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1 *Dīgha*, i, p. 9f.
2 *Jātaka*, i, p. 234f.
3 *Aṅguttara*, ii, p. 121f.
4 *Milinda*, p. 196.

or overcome them. No religion was acceptable to them if it could not assure them of the potency of its means to overcome their fears and to inspire confidence in order to obtain a fearless state. Secular Brahmanism employed all its means to prove its usefulness to them. When other contending faiths entered the field and endeavoured to win the people over to their side, they were required to fulfil the same task by such means as they could devise. The Buddhists adopted the solemn chanting of the *Parittas* as one of the means. The essence of the *Parittas* was *saccakiriyā*, or the effective expression of the wish by an open declaration of the truth. Through the *Parittas* they tried to get rid of the objectionable features of the Brahmanic rituals. The æsthetic aspect was improved and the matter was simplified. But in so doing they failed to anticipate how the parasite with its root stuck to the main tree would grow disproportionately in course of time.

The people were believers in the efficacy of pronouncement of benediction by the priests and other holy persons, in amulets, and the like. In order to oust the Brahmin vested interests from the field, the Jains and Buddhists had to introduce certain *maṅgalas*, claimed as more efficacious. With the Jains the eight *maṅgalas* were the eight auspicious symbols or emblems: Sovatthiya (Svastika), Sirivacca (Śrīvatsa),

Nandiyāvatta (Nandyāvarta), Vaddhamāṇaga (Vardhamāna), Bhaddāsana (Bhadrāsana), Kalasa, Maccha (Matsya), and Dappaṇa (Darpaṇa).[1] Other enumerations of maṅgalas are also met with in the Jaina texts.[2] The Buddhists introduced chanting of the *Maṅgala Sutta* laying much stress on the thirty-seven points of maṅgala or moral condition of human welfare.[3]

In seeking to draw a sharp distinction between the Brahmin as he was and the Brahmin as he ought to have been, the Jains and Buddhists served only to bring the Brahmanic religious ideal into bold relief with the result that Māhaṇa (= Brāhmaṇa) became one of the distinctive epithets of Mahāvīra, and the Buddhist arahants came to be praised as Brāhmaṇas *par excellence.*

By *maṅgalas* the people of India understood the sight of certain auspicious objects, all-white chariots, etc., the hearing of certain auspicious sounds, and the touch of certain auspicious things.[4] They also understood by them the performance of certain auspicious rites for the birth of a male child or for the marriage of boys

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1 *Aupapātika Sūtra*, sec. 49.

2 *Ibid.*, secs. 53, 55.

3 Maṅgala Sutta in the *Khuddakapāṭha* (pp. 2-3); and *Sutta-nipāta* (pp. 46-47). Cf. also Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka (No. 453).

4 *Jātaka*, iv, p. 72f.

and girls and for making the journey to a distant place successful.[1] Secular Brahmanism provided the people with appropriate rituals for all domestic rites of the Indo-Aryan householders. To bring and keep them within their fold, the Jains and Buddhists were required to suggest better substitutes. But in point of fact, they did the work so imperfectly that even their own lay supporters had to be left to adhere to the Brahmanic scheme of social life and to their own family, tribal, national and local customs, with minor modifications here and there.

The Brahmins as Lakkhaṇa-pāṭhakas suggested certain prominent bodily characteristics of a Mahāpurisa or Great Man. As the early Jain and Buddhist texts go to prove that the Jainas and Buddhists simply utilised them in establishing that the founder of their own order was the greatest of men.[2]

Secular Brahmanism allowed the Brahmins to marry from all social grades, and they did, as a matter of fact, marry girls from all sections of the people. The Jains and Buddhists who were otherwise strongly opposed to the caste system, stood as great champions for the purity

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[1] Asoka's Rock Edict, ix; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 322f.; R. K. Mookerjee, *Aśoka*, p. 153ff.

[2] *Aupapātika Sūtra*, sec. 16; *Dīgha*, iii, Lakkhaṇa-Suttanta, p. 142f.

of blood and family prestige. They praised those Brahmins who married girls from their own class only, and in doing so they became *ipso facto* contributors to the social orthodoxy. The cow sacrifice was freely allowed in secular Brahmanism. The eating of beef was not as yet forbidden in society, even among the Brahmins and hermits. The Buddha raised his strong voice against cow-killing, and for the matter of that, against beef-eating.[1] Thus unintentionally he contributed to the social orthodoxy in so far as it expressed itself in the form of prohibition of certain articles of food.

The Brahmins as a class of priests with vested interests were in favour of the monarchical form of government, and the Brahmanic influence was much stronger in monarchies than in oligarchies. In theory, the Jains and Buddhists were in deep sympathy with the democratic constitution. The Jaina religious Order which was evidently constituted with Mahāvīra as the *gaṇi* or leader and nine among his prominent disciples as *gaṇadharas*[2] or sectional leaders, was modelled on the republican constitution of the nine Licchavi or Mallaki clans, and the Buddhist religious Order, too, with its stronger internal cohesion and marked regimental discipline, may be shown to have been

1 *Sutta-nipāta*, p. 50f., Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta.
2 Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 61.

based upon the principle of unity and concerted action which characterised the life and constitution of a Khattiya tribe forming an oligarchy. The difference between the two organisations lay in the fact that the Jaina Order was based upon the idea of confederacy, while the Buddhist Order professed the regimental unity of a single ruling clan. But the popular predilections for kingship and overlordship were not without their influence on the Jain and Buddhist minds, particularly on the latter. The Pali canonical texts reveal throughout a growing tendency to establish parallelism between the position of a righteous king as an earthly overlord and that of the Buddha as the supreme founder of the Kingdom of Righteousness [1] as well as between the attributes and functions of the two. Even with regard to the disposal of the body of the Buddha after his demise, the direction was to adopt the method which applied to the funeral of a king-overlord. The ultimate result of adaptation to the monarchical tradition was that within a purely democratic constitution of the Buddhist Saṅgha, the Master came to be enthroned as the supreme Lord of Righteousness with Sāriputta and Moggallāna as his two *Dhammasenāpatis* and an inner circle of eighty great disciples (*asīti-mahāsāvakā*).

[1] Note that in the *Aupapātika Sūtra*, sec. 16, Mahāvīra is praised as *Dhamma-vara-cāuranta-cakkavattī*.

Secular Brahmanism recommended the daily practice of salutation to six quarters by a good householder at dawn after bath. The practice was thus linked up with a symbolical scheme of the duties and obligations of a householder which the Buddha tried to render significant by an orientation from his own point of view.[1] But the total result was nothing but the prominence of the ideal which was implied in the Brahmanical scheme.

The early Jain and Buddhist texts also present a vivid and fairly detailed picture of the life of the *tāpasas* or ancient order of hermits. According to the Brahmanical scheme, the hermits represented the Vānaprastha (Vanapattha) stage of life. Their retirement from the world is known in Pali as *isipabbajjā*. The persons who adopted this mode of religious life were mostly Brahmins and Khattiyas; a few of them were *gahapatis*. Only in a solitary instance a mātaṅga[2] or caṇḍāla figures as a notable personality among them. The tradition is conspicuous by the absence of the Suddas. The hermits on their retirement from the world selected a beautiful spot in a woodland or a sequestered valley having a river, or a stream, or a natural lake, near by, and built a hermitage which was no better than a leaf-hut or bamboo

[1] *Dīgha*, iii, p. 180f., Siṅgālovāda Sutta.

[2] Mātaṅga Jātaka, *Jātaka* No. 497.

cottage in sylvan surroundings. Either they retired alone or with their families and in some instances with their resident pupils. They lived on roots and fruits, wild-grown rice and vegetables. Their garments were made of birch-bark or antelope-skin. The matted hair on their head marked them out to the people at large as Jaṭilas. Long before the rise of Jainism and Buddhism the hermits in large numbers built their hermitages in the Himalayan forests, in the Vindhya Range and along the banks of the Ganges, Yamunā and other sacred rivers. The hermitages were fenced round, and inside, some of them reared mango and other fruit trees, while the lakes or pools near by were adorned with varieties of lotus flowers; some of them were so ideally situated and so attractive that they were said to have been built by Vessakamma, the heavenly architect.[1] The instances are not wanting in which the royal princes in exile betook themselves with their wives to forest-life, leading the life of hermits. When and how the institutions commenced we cannot definitely say. But it seems to have had a very early beginning indeed. The Jātakas and Jain texts[2] maintain a tradition of some ancient

[1] Cf. Vessantara Jātaka (No. 547); Mugapakkha Jātaka=Temiya Jātaka (No. 538).

[2] *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, Lec. XVIII; Kumbhakāra Jātaka (No. 408).

illustrious contemporary kings of India, all of whom adopted the life of a hermit, viz., Naggaji of Gandhāra, Dummukha of Pañcāla, Nimi of Videha, Bhīma of Vidabbha, and Karakaṇḍu of Kaliṅga. The Uttarādhyayana Sūtra[1] mentions a few other ancient kings who had reached perfection as hermits, viz., Bharata of Bhāratavarṣa, Sagara of Ayodhyā, Maghavan of Śrāvastī, Sanatkumāra and Mahābala of Hastināpura, Śānti, Kuntthu (Kakustha?) who came to be revered as Tīrthaṅkaras, Hariṣeṇa of Kāmpilya, Jaya of Rājagṛha, Daśārṇabhadra of Daśārṇa, Rudrāyana of Sauvīra, and Vijaya of Dvāravatī. Thus it may be shown that the tradition of hermit-life was not restricted to any particular country or kingdom. It was widely recognised as a well-ordered institution all over the Aryandom from Gandhāra to Videha and Kaliṅga and from Kuru-Pañcāla to Vidarbha.

In the history of the Indian *tāpasas*, the kingdom of Videha is entitled to much importance. Both the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Makhādeva Sutta[2] refer to king Māthava, Makhādeva, Maghādeva or Mahādeva, founder of the royal dynasty of Videha, as the first gifted monarch, who was upset at the sight of a grey hair plucked from his head, and taking it to be the sign of death and retirement, he left

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[1] Lec. XVIII.

[2] *Majjhima Nikāya*, ii, p. 74f.

the world forthwith leaving the throne to his son, Nimi, who along with the long line of successors, the Janakas of Mithilā, followed in the footsteps of his great father. The Brahmadattas of Kāsī appeared to have vied with the kings of Videha in this matter.

If the fall of an apple was important to Newton who reflecting on it, discovered the Law of Gravitation, the appearance of a grey hair on the head or the fall of a withered leaf from a tree was no less important, as the Jātakas [1] tell us, to the Indian hermits who reflecting thereon, found out the inner world of spirituality, immortality and tranquillity.

The retirement of several kings of the same line from the world and the distinction obtained by them as hermits enhanced the family prestige of their successors. It was with some amount of pride that Khāravela was introduced in his inscription as a scion of a family of royal sages (*rājisi-vaṃsakula-viniśrita*), all of whom belonged to the Cedi royal house. Similarly the Janakas of Mithilā and the Brahmadattas of Benares represented two ancient lines of royal sages.

The great Brahmin hermits became noted as Brahmarṣis. Among them, mention is made in the Jātakas of the sage Śarabhaṅga [2] who

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[1] *Jātaka*, v, p. 247f.; *Mahāvastu*, iii, p. 450.

[2] Sarabhaṅga Jātaka, *Jātaka*, v, p. 125f.

was formerly commander-in-chief of Benares. He built his hermitage somewhere in the Vindhya region on the Godhāvarī. When he retired from the world, many others accompanied him. The number of hermits grew so large that he was compelled to ask his chief disciples to shift elsewhere taking with them as many of the hermits as possible under the circumstances. By his command they went to build hermitages in different kingdoms and countries. Kisavaccha was one of them. Śarabhaṅga is described as a hermit who wore three garments of birch-bark. According to the Araṇyakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Śarabhaṅga's hermitage was situated not far from Pañcavaṭī. It was Śarabhaṅga who keeping Rāma in his view, entered the burning funeral pyre and proceeded to the eternal world of Brahmā in the resurrected divine form of a *kumāra*. It was undoubtedly a common practice with some of the hermits to die like heroes either by diving into water, or by bodily walking into fire or by a fall from a height.

The *isipabbajjā* of Mahāgovinda, the Brahmin Purohita of king Reṇu of Videha, accompanied by the seven reigning kings, six other Purohitas in a large retinue of the citizens of seven kingdoms, as described in the Mahāgovinda Suttanta[1]

[1] *Dīgha*, ii, p. 220f.

and the Jātakas, produced a very deep impression in the country. A popular chronicle, embodied in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, bears an eloquent testimony to it. Mahāgovinda is claimed to have a direct communion with Brahmā Sanaṃkumāra as a happy result of the cultivation of the four Brahmavihāras: Mettā, Karuṇā, Muditā and Upekkhā. The Isigili Sutta in the *Majjhima Nikāya*[1] contains a similar chronicle of five hundred Paccekabuddhas who are otherwise described as great sages of old, and the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta in the *Sutta-nipāta*[2] and the Paccekabuddha Apadāna in the *Apadāna*[3] contain distinct utterances of them. In historical times, Bāvarī, the chaplain of king Pasenadi of Kosala, retired from the world and built a hermitage on the Godhāvarī (Godāvarī) in the Vindhya region. The Pārāyaṇa Vagga in the *Sutta-nipāta*[4] preserves a glorious tradition of Bāvarī along with his sixteen disciples. As the Jātakas clearly attest, among the tāpasas there were many who practised *Yoga* or *Jhāna*, and mastered as many as eight *Samāpattis*. There is evidence also to prove that the neighbourhood of the hermitages became sites afterwards of many important

[1] Vol. iii, p. 68f.
[2] pp. 6–12.
[3] Vol. i, pp. 7–14.
[4] p. 190f.

flourishing cities like Kapilavatthu, Sāvatthī, Kākandī, and Mākandī. Thus the jungles were converted into royal capitals and delightful human localities.

In the instances where the Tāpasas lived all alone or with their families and resident pupils, we cannot conceive of the possibility of a corporate or congregational life. They lived more or less a domestic life in the forest paying occasional visits to the neighbouring hermitages. Occasionally they had to appear in human localities for the collecton of salt or to keep invitations from kings. The religious homes in the forests served as a meeting place of the lovers ending in marriage.

It is correctly pointed out that according to the Araṇyakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma, while in exile with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, walked from hermitage to hermitage from Ayodhyā on the Sarayū to the Pañcavaṭī on the Godāvarī.[1] The Sarabhaṅga Jātaka also shows that in travelling from Benares to the same destination, one had to follow a *ekapadikamagga* or narrow foot-track under the guidance of a *vanacaraka*.[2] But when Bāvari built his hermitage near the Pañcavaṭī during the reign of Pasenadi, there came into existence a high road connecting

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[1] *Sir Asutosh Mookerji Silver Jubilee Volume*, iii, p. 412f.
[2] *Jātaka*, v, p. 132.

Rājagaha with Patiṭṭhāna. Thus the hermits and *vanacarakas* co-operated in exploring the forest regions and gradually bringing into existence high roads and trade-routes.

The corporate or congregational life became manifest among the hermits when a large number of them came to live in one and the same hermitage, e.g., in the big *assama* or hermitage of Sarabhaṅga in the Kaviṭṭha forest on the Godhāvarī. In the Buddha's time, there were three settlements or colonies of the Jaṭilas under three Kassapa brothers in the three divisions of the Gayākhetta.[1] The Pali legend concerning Uruvelā seeks to bring out the fact that when in ancient times the hermits came to the place to atone for their sins, there was no corporate life among them.[2] Even among the Jaṭilas forming three distinct groups, the tie in each group was rather domestic than congregational. Their leaders, the three Kassapa brothers, were born in a Brahmin family of Magadha. They were great personalities; all the inhabitants of Aṅga and Magadha highly revered them. They were fire-worshippers by their cult, the believers in the great sanctity of the waters of the Gayā river.[3] The people from all parts of India came on pilgrimage to

[1] *Vinaya*, i, p. 31f.

[2] Barua, *Gayā and Buddhagayā*, Vol. I, p. 99

[3] *Udāna*, p. 6.

Gayā to perform the holy ablution in a sincere belief that by bathing in the Gayā river they could wash off their sins. There were other sacred rivers where similar ablutions were performed. The Buddhist criticism of the belief and the practice was not without its value.[1] But the belief served as a strong incentive to bathing in the sacred rivers the water of which was hygienic and good for health.

During the period under notice there existed in Northern India various orders of Paribbājakas or Wanderers, who, in the language of Rhys Davids, 'were teachers or sophists who spent eight or nine months of every year wandering about precisely with the object of engaging in conversational discussions on matters of ethics and philosophy, nature lore and mysticism. Like the Sophists among the Greeks, they differed very much in intelligence, in earnestness and in honesty'.[2] These wandering ascetics, particularly those who were called Brāhmaṇa Paribbājakas,[3] were representatives of the fourth or last stage of progressive life. They were known as mendicants (bhikkhus) because they depended for their sustenance on alms collected from door to door,

[1] *Majjhima*, i, p. 36f., Vatthūpama Sutta; *Udāna*, p. 6 *Therīgāthā*, pp. 146-47. Gāthās of Puṇṇikā.

[2] *Buddhist India*, p. 141.

[3] *Aṅguttara*, i, p. 157; B. C. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, Ch. II.

as one-garment men (ekasāṭakas), as they used to clothe themselves with one piece of cloth, and as shavelings (muṇḍakas), as they shaved their heads clean as a mark of distinction from the Tāpasas who were all Jaṭilas (wearers of matted hair) and from the Brahmin householders who wore a crested lock on their head. As distinguished from the tāpasas they lived a homeless life, without having a fixed residence save and except during the rainy season when they took shelter in deserted houses (suññāgāra), caves (guhā), rocky caverns (kandarā) and the like. Some of them went about naked and were known as *acelakas* or *naggapabbajitas*. Those whose garments consisted in antelope-skin were called *cammasāṭakas*. The canonical Pali texts introduce to us no less than 30 wandering teachers who were either leaders or members of various orders of Indian ascetics, the number of members of each varying from 300 to 3,000. Some of them were known by their nick-names, some by the names of the *gottas* they belonged to, some by their external signs and some by their religious practices. They were all contemporaries of the Buddha and so of Mahāvīra. Poṭṭhapāda [1], the rheumatic, had 300 followers; Bhaggavagotta [2], the wanderer, belonged to the

[1] Poṭṭhapāda Sutta, *Dīgha*, i.

[2] *Dīgha*, iii, p. 1.

Bhārgava family. Pāṭikaputta [1] was an *acelaka* or naked ascetic. Nigrodha [2], Sandaka [3], Sāmaṇḍaka [4], Ajita [5], Sarabha [6], Annabhāra [7], Varadhara [8], Uttiya [9], Kokanada [10], Potaliya [11], Moliyasīvaka [12], Sajjha [13], Sutavā [14], Kuṇḍaliya [15], Timbaruka [16], Nandiya [17], Vacchagotta [18], Sūcīmukhī [19], Susīma [20], Uggāhamāna [21], Pilotika [22], Potaliputta [23], Sakuladāyī [24], Vekhanassa [25] (Vaikhānasa), Dīghanakha [26], Māgandiya [27], Sabhiya [28], and

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1 *Dīgha*, iii, pp. 12–35.
2 *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 36–57.
3 *Majjhima*, i, p. 513.
4 *Aṅguttara*, v, pp. 120-121.
5 *Ibid.*, v, p. 230.
6 *Ibid.*, i, p. 185.
7 *Ibid.*, ii, p. 29.
8 *Ibid.*, ii, p. 176.
9 *Ibid.*, v, p. 193.
10 *Ibid.*, v, p. 196.
11 *Ibid.*, ii, p. 100.
12 *Ibid.*, iii, p. 356.
13 *Ibid.*, iv, p. 371.
14 *Ibid.*, iv, p. 369.
15 *Saṃyutta*, v, p. 73.
16 *Ibid.*, ii, p. 22.
17 *Ibid.*, v, p. 11.
18 *Ibid.*, iii, p. 257.
19 *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 238–240.
20 *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 119–128.
21 *Majjhima*, ii, p. 22.
22 *Ibid.*, i, p. 175.
23 *Ibid.*, iii, p. 207.
24 *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 1–22.
25 *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 40–44.
26 *Ibid.*, i, p. 497.
27 *Ibid.*, i, p. 501.
28 *Sutta-nipāta*, p. 91.

Sañjaya were the most notable of the class. Their movements were restricted more or less to the Majjhimadesa. Apart from the Brāhmaṇa Paribbājakas, the Pali texts repeatedly speak of the six influential orders of *Samaṇas*, the leaders of whom were known to the Buddhists as six *titthiyas* or leading thinkers: Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Ajitakesakambalī, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhaputta or Belaṭṭhiputta, and Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta [1]. Of them the sixth was no other than Mahāvīra, the reputed founder of Jainism. Sañjaya, as his name implies, was a Khattiya of the Belaṭṭha clan or one born of a princess of the Belaṭṭha family. The remaining four were Brahmins by birth. They too by their habits of life were all wandering teachers, shavelings and mendicants and differed from the Paribbājakas as a class only in their attitude towards the world and the existing social and religious institutions. Pūraṇa as a transcendentalist claimed that the soul (*attā*) cannot be affected by the moral or immoral action of men. Gosāla was, according to one of the Jain traditions, the son of a Brahmin Paribbājaka couple, and according to another, the son of a Brahmin who was rich in cattle (gobahula). He was pre-eminently a Kosalan teacher. Philosophically he was a determinist

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[1] *Dīgha*, i, p. 47f.; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 32f.

and ethically a fatalist. Pakudha Kaccāyana, identified by some scholars with Kavandhin Kātyāyana of the *Praṣnopaniṣad*[1] was an eternalist, maintaining that both soul and the world are unchanging realities. Ajita distinguished by the garment of hair which he used to wear, was an avowed atheist denying as he did the possibility of continuance of personal existence after death and consequently the possibility of having reward and retribution for the deeds done in this life. These teachers were all dogmatic in the way they held their respective opinions. As distinguished from them, Sañjaya of the Belaṭṭha clan who is identified in the Mahāvastu with the Wanderer Sañjaya passed as a great sceptic (Amarāvikkhepaka, Ardhamāgadhī Aṇṇānika). Nigaṇṭha of the Nāta or Jñātrī clan of Vesālī is distinguished from the rest as the propounder of a system of Cātuyāmasaṃvara or fourfold self-restraint. This is only a rough and ready description of the founders of six different orders and leaders of six different schools of thought who held the field when the Buddha had just started on his career as a religious teacher[2].

We are nowhere given in the early texts of Jainism and Buddhism a specific description of

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[1] *Praś.* I.I.

[2] For details from Buddhist and Jain texts, *vide* B. C. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, Ch. III.

the Tāpasas, Paribbājakas or, Samaṇas, taken order by order or school by school, either as regards their food or as regards their dress, habits and goals. All that we can gather from them is only a general description, which is likely to prove misleading. In the Pali Kassapasīhanāda Sutta, we read, for instance, 'He feeds on potherbs, on wild rice, on nīvāra seeds, on leather parings, on the water-plant called haṭa, on the fine powder which adheres to the grains of rice beneath the husk, on the discarded scum of boiling rice, on the flour of oilseeds, on grasses, on cowdung, on fruits and roots from the woods, on fruits that have fallen of themselves'.[1]

This list of ascetic practices concerning food applies mainly to the Tāpasas, and partially only to the Ājīvikas who were followers of Makkhali Gosāla, Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Saṃkicca.

The following account of practices concerning garment and behaviour is applicable partly to the Tāpasas and partly to the clothed Paribbājakas, and, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Acelakas and some of the Samaṇa orders: 'He wears

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[1] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, S.B.B., ii, p. 230. *Sākabhakkho vā hoti, sāmākabhakkho hoti, nīvārabhakkho vā hoti, daddulabhakkho vā hoti, haṭabhakkho vā hoti, kaṇabhakkho vā hoti, ācāmabhakkho vā hoti, piññākabhakkho vā hoti, tiṇabhakkho vā hoti, gomayabhakkho vā hoti, vanamūla phalāhāro yāpeti pavattaphala bhojī. Dīgha*, i, p. 166.

hempen cloth; mixed hempen cloth ; cloths taken from corpses and thrown away; clothing made of rags picked up from a dust heap, of the bark of the Tiriṭaka tree; the natural hide of a black antelope; a dress made of a network of strips of a black antelope's hide; of Kuśa grass fibre; a garment of bark; a garment made of small slips or slabs of wood (shingle) pieced together; a blanket of human hair; of horses' tails; of the feathers of owls.

He is a plucker-out-of-hair-and-beard, a stander-up, a croucher-down-on-the-heels, a bed-of-thorns-man. He uses a plank bed, sleeps on the bare ground, sleeps always on one side, a dust and dirt wearer, lives and sleeps in the open air, does not mind whatsoever seat is offered to him, goes down into water thrice a day to wash away his sins'.[1] Here the two practices of plucking out of both hair and beard and standing up rejecting the use of a seat are applicable also to the Jaina mendicants. Lastly, the account of the practices concerning the mode of collecting food and eating may be shown to apply to the Acelaka class of the Paribbājakas and the Ājīvika and Jaina types of the Samaṇas:

'He goes naked, performs his bodily functions and eats food in a standing posture, licks his

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[1] *Dialogues of the Buddha, op. cit.*, p. 230f.; *Dīgha*, i, pp. 166-7.

hands clean after eating, when on his rounds for alms, if politely requested to step nearer or to wait a moment, he passes stolidly on, refuses to accept food if it is brought to him before he has started on his round, if it has been prepared specially for him, to accept any invitation, to accept food direct from the mouth of the pot or pan lest those vessels should be struck or scraped on his account. He will not accept food placed within the threshold, placed among the sticks or pestles. He does not accept food from persons while they are eating, from a woman with child, from a mother giving suck, from a woman when she is in her private chamber. He will not accept food where a dog is standing by or flies are swarming round. He will not accept fish nor meat, nor strong drink, nor intoxicants, nor gruel. He feeds on the four kinds of filth (cowdung, cow's urine, ashes and clay). He never drinks cold water. He is contented with alms received from one house only, or from two houses, or so on up to only seven houses. He keeps himself going on only one alms or only two, or so on up to only seven. He takes his food only once a day, or once every two days, or so on up to once every seven days or up to even half a month'.[1]

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[1] Based on the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, *op. cit.*, p. 227f.; *Dīgha*, i, p. 166.

The Jaina *Aupapātika Sūtra* speaks of the Tāpasas as those *religieux* who adopted the Vānaprastha mode of life on the banks of the sacred rivers typified by the Ganges. They were either fire-worshippers, family men or those who slept on the bare ground. They were either sacrificers, or performers of funeral rites, or owners of property. The water jugs and cooking pots were among their belongings. They followed different modes of bathing in the holy waters. Some of them used to blow conchshells, or were *kūladhamakas* (winnow-beaters). Some of them killed deer for venison and skin, and some killed elephants to make food provision minimising the slaughter of life. Some went about holding a stick erect, or with the gaze fixed on a particular direction. They used the bark of a tree as their garment, and lived either on the seashore or near water at the foot of a tree, feeding on water, air, water-plants, roots, bulbs, barks, flowers, fruits and seeds. They rendered their body cooked as it were by the heat of the five kinds of fire and stiffened by the sprinkling of water [1].

The Sūtra mentions a class of recluses (pabbaiyā-samaṇā) who were addicted to sensual pleasures, vulgar ways and vaunting, and were fond of singing and dancing [2].

[1] *Aupapātika Sūtra*, sec. 74.

[2] *Ibid.*, sec. 75.

The same text distinguishes between the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya Parivrājakas, and describes them as those *religieux* who either followed the Kāpila school of Sāṅkhya or the Bhārgava school of Yoga, or represented the four grades of Indian ascetics: Bahūdakā, Kuṭibratā (Kuṭīcakā), Haṃsā and Paramahaṃsā. Some of them were Kṛṣṇa Parivrājakas [1]. The Ājīvikas are placed in a different category, their description being the same as in Pali [2]. It may be noted that even in Gośāla's doctrine, the Ājīvika orders were distinguished from those of the Parivrājakas [3].

A gradation of niṭṭhā or goals aimed at by the Tāpasas, Paribbājakas and Ājīvikas is suggested in the *Aupapātika Sūtra*, Buddhaghosa's *Papañcasūdanī*, some of the later Upaniṣads as well as Gośāla's doctrine of six *Abhijātas* or grades of spiritual advancement. The six grades are described in terms of six colours as the black (*kaṇha*), the blue (*nīla*), the red (*lohita*), the turmeric (*halidda*), the white (*sukka*), and the supremely white (*paramasukka* [4]). Corresponding to them we have mention of the following six grades in the *Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣad*: *ātura*,

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[1] *Aupapātika Sūtra*, secs. 76–81.

[2] *Ibid.*, sec. 120.

[3] *Dīgha*, i, p. 54: *ekūnapaññāsa-ājīvasate, ekūnapaññāsa-Paribbājakasate.*

[4] Barua in *I.H.Q.*, iii, p. 257f.

kuṭīcaka, *bahūdaka*, *haṃsa*, *paramahaṃsa* and *turiyātītaparamahaṃsa*, *saniyama* or *aniyama*. According to the Upaniṣads, the goal of the *ātura* (=*kaṇha*) is Bhūrloka, that of the *kuṭīcaka* (=*nīla*) is Bhuvarloka, that of the *bahūdaka* (=*lohita*) is Svargaloka, that of the *haṃsa* (=*halidda*) is Tapoloka, that of the *paramahaṃsa* (=*sukka*) is Satyaloka, and that of the *turiyātītaparamahaṃsa* (=*paramasukka*) is Kaivalya. The *turiyātītaparamahaṃsa* culminates as *avadhūta*. According to the *Aupapātika Sūtra*, the destiny of worldly men is Vāṇamantra, that of the Vānaprastha Tāpasas is the world of the Jyotiṣī gods, that of the Paribbājakas is Brahmaloka, and that of the Ājīvikas is Acyutapada [1]. And according to Buddhaghosa, the goal of the Brāhmaṇas is Brahmaloka, that of the Tāpasas is Ābhassaraloka, that of the Paribbājakas is Subhakiṇṇaloka and that of the Ājīvikas is Anantamānasa [2].

The various forms of penances (tapas, dukkarakārikā) constituted the external feature of their religious efforts, and the various modes of *Yoga* or *Jhāna* practised by them constituted its internal feature. In the Jātakas, many among the ancient hermits are said to have mastered the eight *samāpattis*, each of them representing a particular form of ecstasy or

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[1] *Aupapātika Sūtra*, secs. 70, 71, 74, 81, 120.

[2] *Papañcasūdanī*, pt. II, p. 1f. Cūḷasīhanāda Sutta.

hypnotic trance. The *Ariyapariyesana Suttạ*[1] and other Pali texts mention Āḷārakālāma and Uddakarāmaputta as two great Yogis under whom the Buddha learnt the practice of Yoga, better Rājayoga, on his way from Rājagaha to Uruvelā. While at Uruvelā, he practised the hard penances and appāṇakajhānas (i.e. kumbhakas of Haṭhayoga) of the Acelaka or Ājīvika class of ascetics.

The common people who were the lay supporters of these various orders of hermits, ascetics and recluses, attached much importance to the austerities and believed in the infinite possibilities of the Yoga practice[2]. The popular belief is that with the development of the supernormal faculties, being one, the gifted man becomes many, having become many, becomes one again. He becomes visible or invisible at his sweet will, he can fly through air like birds on wings, can easily walk on water, as if on solid ground, and can easily go to the further side of a wall or rampart or hill, as if through air, feeling no obstruction. Even the sun and the moon he can touch and feel with his own hands. He can visit any place he likes, even the world of Brahmā. For the self-articulation and its effects through *Yoga*

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[1] *Majjhima*, i, p. 160f.

[2] Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, S.B.B., ii, p. 208f.

or *Jhāna*,[1] the popular simile was that of a clever potter making pots of any shape out of properly prepared clay [2].

Thus the Yoga practice and miracle went together. In popular estimation the greater the psychic power, the superior was the Master. Just as the wrestlers in an arena measured their strength with each other, so did the ascetics, and the contest was eagerly witnessed by the people. The Sāvatthī miracle performed by the Buddha was intended to establish his superiority over the rest of the competitors in the field of psychic power. The question with the people who thronged to witness the performance was—who is the greater Yogī, the Buddha or the Titthiyas? [3] The Ājīvikas claimed their third Titthaṅkara, Gośāla, as one of the three greatest Avadhūtas in history [4]. The Jainas proclaimed that their last Titthaṅkara, Mahāvīra, was the all-knowing and all-seeing Master, possessed of an infinite knowledge [5]. They further declared that in all postures of his body, the supreme knowledge and vision (ñāṇadassanam) were always present with him. Similarly the

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[1] Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 30, 42, 43, 90, 119, etc.; Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chap. VI.

[2] *Dīgha*, i, p. 78f.; *Dial. B.*, *op. cit.*, p. 88f.

[3] *Jātaka*, iv, p. 264f.; *Mahāvastu*, iii, p. 115.

[4] *Aṅguttara*, iii, p. 384; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 162.

[5] *Majjhima*, i, p. 92f.; Law, *Mahāvīra*, p. 43.

Buddhists contended for the superiority of their Master over all by the fact of his experience of the highest state of consciousness through the ninth *samāpatti* called *saññā-vedayita-nirodha*[1]. Among the Buddha's immediate disciples, Moggallāna was claimed to have occupied the foremost rank in respect of the possession of psychic power[2].

The man gifted with psychic power passed also as the man of wisdom, the greatest Yogī figuring sometimes as the greatest rationalist. The Samaṇa-Brāhmaṇa period was indeed a period during which the religious experiences were sought to be rationalised. So we need not be astonished at all that the bands of the wandering ascetics, Paribbājakas and Samaṇas, appeared in the scene as great controversialists and disputants. The royal parks and gardens of the aristocrats were their halting places where they engaged themselves in serious discussions. The philosophical contest was no less an interesting occasion for the people than the miracle. Sometimes they talked so loudly that the place where they halted or resided became very much noisy like a fish market[3]. We hear of a Tindukacīra or Tinduka garden which

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[1] *Majjhima*, i, p. 296.

[2] *Aṅguttara*, i, p. 23; *Majjhima*, i, p. 251f.; E. J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 52.

[3] *Majjhima*, ii, Sakuludāyi Sutta (Mahā and Cūḷa).

resounded with the uproar of doctrines (samayapavādaka)[1]. To provide them with a fixed residence during the rains, their lay supporters, kings, queens, princes, courtiers and bankers, permanently dedicated the ārāmas to this or that particular order of Paribbājakas and Samaṇas. The result was that the *ārāmas* gradually became known as Paribbājaka-ārāmas, or converted into *vihāras* or monastic establishments. The mountain caves where they used to seek shelter during the rains, were likewise turned into *leṇas* or cave-dwellings.

The Śaravana[2] near Śrāvastī was the place where the Ājīvika leader, Maṣkarī Gośāla, was born of Parivrājaka parents. The Jetavana[3] on the south side of Sāvatthī was originally a private garden of Prince Jeta, which was subsequently converted into a vihāra by the banker, Anāthapiṇḍika, for the Buddha and his disciples. The Pubbārāma[4] or the garden on the east side of the city was similarly converted into a vihāra by Viśākhā, daughter-in-law of the banker, Migāra, and offered as

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[1] This was the famous garden of queen Mallikā in the suburb of Sāvatthī, provided at first with one shed and subsequently with many sheds to make accommodations for the wandering ascetics or recluses. *Dīgha*, i, p. 178.

[2] B. C. Law, *Śrāvastī in Indian Literature* (Memoir A.S.I., No. 50), p. 10.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 22–25.

a gift to the Buddhist Saṅgha of all times and all quarters. The Sahassambavana[1] outside the city of Palāsapura became a Jaina residence during Mahāvīra's lifetime. The garden of the Śākya Nyagrodha near the city of Kapilavatthu was transformed into a vihāra and offered as a gift to the Buddha and his followers. The same as to the Mahāvana[2] near Vesālī and the Veḷuvana[3] and Jīvaka's Mango-grove[4] near Rājagaha. A retreat for the Paribbājakas was built on the landed estate of Udumbarikādevī, not far from Rājagaha. Pāvārika's Mango-grove at Nālandā and the Gaggarā tank at Campā, the capital of Aṅga, were famous as halting places of the wandering ascetics and recluses; the places or sites that were attractive to this class of Indian *religieux* may be easily inferred from the two famous utterances of the Buddha, cited below:

First, the Buddha, at the first sight of Uruvelā, observed: 'Pleasantly picturesque is this part of land. Delightful is the sight of grassy woodland. The river (Nerañjarā) is flowing on in a glassy stream showing the bathing places with gradual descent of steps presenting a charming landscape, and affording glimpses into

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[1] *Uvāsagadasāo*, ed. by Hoernle, Chaps. IV–VII.

[2] Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 46f.

[3] Law, *Rājagriha in Ancient Literature*, pp. 11-12.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

the neighbouring hamlets, easy of access. This must be the fitting place for the scion of a noble race strenuously striving after the highest attainment [1].'

Secondly, the Buddha's happy reminiscences of the sites at Rājagaha are vividly recorded thus in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta: 'Delightful is Rājagaha, delightful is the Gijjhakūṭa mountain, delightful is the Gotama Nigrodha, delightful is the Corapapāta, the Sattapaṇṇiguhā on a side of the Vebhāra mountain, the Sappasoṇḍika-slope in Sitavana, the Tapodārāma, the Veḷuvana Kalandaka-nivāpa, the Mango-grove of Jīvakạ, and the Maddakucchi Deer Park.

There varily I dwelt at Rājagaha in the Sattapaṇṇa cave on one side of the Vebhāra mountain. There verily I dwelt at Rājagaha on Kālasilā on a side of the Isigili mountain'. So on and so forth [2].

It may be noted that the Kālasilā was the very rock on which the Jaina recluses could be seen practising austerity in a standing posture from dawn to dusk [3].

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[1] *Majjhima*, i, pp. 166-167; *Mahāvastu*, ii, p. 123f.; *Lalitavistara* (Mitra's ed.), p. 311; Barua, *Gayā and Buddhagayā*, pp. 103, 162.

[2] *Dīgha*, ii, p. 116f.; Law, *Rājagriha in Ancient Literature* (Memoir A.S.I., No. 58), p. 7f. The *Theratherīgāthā* contains similar reminiscences.

[3] *Majjhima*, i, p. 92.

In the opinion of D. R. Bhandarkar, the ancient ṛṣis were not aggressive propagators of their faith [1]. As distinguished from them, the Paribbājakas and Samaṇas actively propagated the same amongst all classes of people. The happy result of it was that already by the time of Piyadasī-Asoka almost the whole of India was Aryanised or Hinduised by them, the Samaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas [2]. They were the people who prepared the ground for the vigorous Buddhist missionary work, organised during the latter part of the reign of Aśoka. Before that time the spread of Buddhism was restricted more or less to the confines of Majjhimadesa [3]. And yet the missionary zeal which enabled Buddhism to become a great civilising influence in the world, lay in the epoch-making utterance of the Buddha with which he urged his very first batch of advanced disciples to go forth in all directions and preach the new message of the Dhamma, not two of them following the same direction, for the good and happiness of many, himself taking the lead in the matter [4].

In carrying on this noble mission, some of the hermits, ascetics and recluses had to play the

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1 Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 17.

2 Asoka's R.E., xiii; Barua, *Gayā and Buddhagayā*, i, p. 262.

3 *Kathāvatthu*, i, 3; *I.H.Q.*, vii (1931), p. 368.

4 *Vinaya Mahāvagga*: '*Caratha, bhikkhave, cārikaṃ bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya*', etc.

rôle of martyrs. The Jātakas and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* record just a few typical instances of martyrdom suffered in the past. Ajjuna, king of the Kekayas, caused annoyance to the sage, Gotama. Daṇḍakī, king of Daṇḍaka, insulted Kisavaccha, the guileless ascetic. King Mejjha ill-treated Mātaṅga, the far-famed sage. The Andhaka-Veṇhu youths of Dvāravatī roughly handled Kaṇha-Dīpāyana and ultimately put him to death. Kalābu, king of Benares, tortured an ascetic who was a preacher of patience and forbearance. Nāḷikira (or Nāḷikera), king of Kaliṅga, cut the body of an ascetic into pieces and offered his limbs to dogs to devour. In one instance, a king piereed a harmless ascetic with an arrow under the misapprehension that he stood in his way as ill-luck and spoiled his game. Even in historical times, the Buddha's great disciple and powerful popular preacher, Moggallāna, was surrounded and killed by brigands (alleged to have been employed by his rivals in other sects).

There were two effective ways of checking the tyrants and sinners: the pronouncement of a curse and the invention of the stories of terrible sufferings in different purgatories. But the Indian ascetics also invented the stories of a happy and glorious life in different heavens to induce the people to lead a moral and pious

life. The early Jaina and Buddhist texts are full of vivid pictures of purgatories and paradises. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in order to prevent disturbances to the sacrifices in the āśramas, caused by the aboriginal tribes, the hermits and sages had to seek occasionally the aid of the princes and warriors for an armed protection. But left to themselves and determined to remain non-violent and non-harming, they had to make patience, forbearance, etc., a virtue of necessity.

The account of Mahāvīra's early wanderings in the country of Lāḍha in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* shows that the rude inhabitants of the place used to set dogs with the cry of *chucchū* upon the ascetics when they were found near their localities [1]. But as borne out by the reminiscences of Mahāvīra and the Buddha, the mischief-makers whom the lonely ascetics had to reckon with were the cowherds (gopālakā) who made practical jokes on them [2].

The doctrinal basis of various stories of heaven and hell was the widely current popular belief in paraloka or life hereafter. The doctrine of Karma was founded on this very belief. So much stress was laid upon the betterment of human existence in the life to come that the

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[1] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, i, 8.3-4.

[2] *Ibid.*, 18.3–10; Mahāsīhanāda Sutta, *Majjhima*, i, p. 79.

general impression among the people of the Buddha's time was that religion was needed for furthering the worldly interest only. It was from this impression that king Ajātasattu of Magadha was led to have interviews with the contemporary religious teachers for enlightenment on the question as to the possibility of the immediate fruit of religious life in the present existence. In the *Sāmaññaphala* and other suttas, we read that the contemporary religious teachers whom he waited upon gave answers that were not to the point. He then saw the Buddha who satisfied him with a relevant answer. The Buddha's arguments went to establish that religion, if rightly and earnestly practised, was of immense service to men and women in the present world, its primary function being to improve the personal, family, social, economic, moral, intellectual and spiritual status of them by showing them the path of deliverance from bondage in all its degrees and forms.[1]

In corroboration of the drift of the Buddha's reply, we may note that Indian religions of the age encouraged various works of social piety, e.g., construction of roads and bridges, planting of shade trees, excavation of tanks, sinking of wells, laying out of fruit gardens,

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1 *Dīgha*, i, p. 60f.

supply of drinking water at suitable places for the thirsty travellers and beasts, opening of charity halls, supply of medicinal roots, fruits, leaves and herbs, maintenance of public granaries and storehouses as provisions against famine and starvation, etc. The voice was raised against the servitude of men and women, the slave-trade was prohibited among the followers and the manumission of slaves was encouraged. The religious orders of the Samaṇas admitted even the slaves and Suddas into their fold and proved that given a chance, a barber like Upāli could occupy a foremost rank among the elect.

The door of higher religious life was also kept open to the women of all social grades and ranks, nay, even to the fallen women, some of whom made their mark in history by their changed life.

By preaching the doctrine of *Ahiṃsā*, the religions brought about a change in the art of cooking and items of food. They persistently sought to create a social order based on cordiality, fellow-feeling and love. The vigorous religious propaganda carried on during the period went to mitigate and humanise the most rigorous and barbarous laws [1]. The religions served to improve the moral tone and taste of society. The Buddhist Vinaya code

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[1] *Majjhima*, i, p. 87.

of discipline included the Sekhiya rules (laws of etiquette) and held them before the people for conformation. The religions tried to improve the standard of popular art and architecture either by giving a fresh impetus or creating through poetry and imagination the celestial prototypes of the cities, royal palaces, council halls, pleasure-gardens, vehicles, conveyances, mansions and residential houses.

Chapter V

EDUCATION AND LEARNING

In India, precisely as in other ancient civilised countries, the powerful influence of religion on life was exercised through education and learning. It was by the effort of the religious teachers of various schools of thought that the educational institutions were founded and maintained, and it was under their fostering care that the cause of both education and learning prospered. Of the two, education and learning, the first is in various ways the means or instrument, and the second the end or result. The essence of education is training, physical, mental and moral. As training, education is fundamentally an art. The practice of this art requires some definite methods and principles, both of which make up a science. The main end of education is the acquisition of knowledge either for the realisation of an ideal, or for acquiring fitness for work, or for both. Learning means knowledge which proceeds from study, instruction, meditation or practice. Training implies a personal relationship between the trainer and the trained. The trainer is either the preceptor or the teacher, and the trained are either pupils, students or disciples. The meeting place

of the two is an educational institution in the form of a school, a college or a university. The institutions are either state-aided, or maintained on private charities and endowments, or based upon the co-operation between the teachers and the taught. In the present chapter, we are to draw a picture of progress in education and learning in the above sense, made by the people of India, in the light of the early texts of Jainism and Buddhism.

At the time of the rise of Jainism and Buddhism, India with her long history of learning and vast and varied cultural background was undoubtedly the leading country of the world. In this historical background was the enormous Vedic literature of which we are given slightly different accounts in the early Jain and Buddhist texts. The Jaina *Aupapātika Sūtra* offers us an interesting list of Vedic branches of learning or subjects of study which is made up of the Riuveda (Ṛgveda), Yajuveda (Yajurveda), Sāmaveda, Ahavvaṇaveda (Atharvaṇaveda), Itihāsa, the fifth Veda, Nighaṇṭu, the sixth Veda, six Vedāṅgas, six Upāṅgas, works on rahassa (rahasya), Saṭṭhitaṃta (Ṣaṣṭitantra), and many other Brahmanical treatises. The six Vedāṅgas are said to have been represented by the auxiliary works on saṃkhāṇa (arithmetic), sikkhā (phonetics), kappa (ritual), vāgaraṇa (vyākaraṇa, grammar), chanda

(metre), nirutta (exegesis), and joisa (jyotiṣa, astronomy-astrology [1]). The Upāṅgas were nothing but further elaborations (vyākhyānas) of the subjects dealt with in the Vedāṅgas.[2] The Ṣaṣṭitantra was the authoritative treatise of the Sāṃkhya school whose system was concerned with sixty terms or topics. In the Uttarādhyayana, Anuyogadvāra and other Jaina sūtras that speak of a later state of things, the Ṣaṣṭitantra as a Sāṃkhya treatise is distinguished from the Kāvila (Kapila's formulation), Kaṇagasattari (Kanaka-saptati or Sāṃkhya-kārikā), and Māḍhara (Māṭharavṛtti [3]). In the place of Itihāsa, these texts mention the *Bhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* [4].

The *Aupapātika Sūtra* speaks of the two allied systems of Sāṃkhya and Yoga [5], while in the *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* we have mention also of Buddhism (Buddhasāsanaṃ), the Vaiśeṣika system (Visesiyaṃ), Lokāyataṃ, Purāṇas, Vyākaraṇas, Nāṭakas, Vaiśikas, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (Koḍiliayaṃ), the *Kāmasūtras* of Ghoṭakamukha (Ghoḍayamuha), and the like [6].

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[1] *Aupapātika Sūtra*, sec. 77.

[2] According to a later Brahmanical tradition, the Upāṅgas were four and they comprised the Purāṇas, Nyāya treatises, Mīmāṁsā works and Dharmaśāstras. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[3] *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*, sec. 41.

[4] *Ibid.*, sec. 41.

[5] *Aupapātika Sūtra*, sec. 76.

[6] *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*, sec. 41.

The latter refers as well to the four Vedas with the Aṅgas and Upāṅgas and seventy-two kalās [1] that are enumerated in the Samavāyāṅga [2].

In connection with the erudition of the Tevijja or Sotthiya class of Brahmins, the early Pali texts mention the first three Vedas, the Atharva as the fourth Veda by implication, Itihāsa the fifth Veda, the Vedāṅgas, and the Lokāyataṃ including a knowledge of the characteristic marks of great men. The Vedāṅgas are clumsily enumerated. But they comprised, no doubt, the works on *nighaṇḍu* (vocabulary), *keṭubha* (kappa, ritual), *akkha-rappabheda* (*sikkhā* and *nirutti*), *pada* or *pada-pāṭha*, *veyyākaraṇa* (vyākaraṇa, grammar), and *lokāyatam*. The term *pada* may be taken to have included also the works on metre. The term *lokāyatam* is explained by the Pali scholiasts in the sense of 'casuistry', stories of creation, etc. But it may be inferred from the *Vinaya Cullavagga* (v, 33.2) that it was employed to mean all the popular sciences and arts including astronomy, astrology, demonology, quackery, and the rest. The fuller list supplied in the *Milinda* (p. 178) is made up of the Irubbeda, Yajubbeda, Sāmaveda, Athabbaṇa-veda, Lakkhaṇaṃ (science of signs), Itihāsa,

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[1] *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*, sec. 41.

[2] Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* enumerates sixty-four kalās.

Purāṇa, Nighaṇḍu, Keṭubhaṃ, Akkharappabhedaṃ, Padaṃ, Veyyākaraṇaṃ, Bhāsamaggaṃ (Prosody, modes of chanting), Uppādaṃ (science of portents), Supinaṃ (dream-portents), Nimittaṃ (science of omens), Chaḷaṅgaṃ (six Vedāṅgas), Jotisaṃ (astronomy) dealing with the eclipses of the sun and the moon due to the action of Rāhu and Ketu, fall of meteors, and forecasts of earthquakes, thunderclaps, conflagrations, etc., and the interpretation of omens drawn from the barking of dogs, cries of beasts, and birds.

In later Pali phraseology, the three terms *vijjā*, *ṣippa* and *kalā*, comprehend together with the three Vedas the whole of learning, theoretical and practical. In earlier nomenclature, the two terms, *vijjā* and *sippa* were considered sufficient for the purpose. In some of the Jātakas, the eighteen sippas as *vijjaṭṭhānas* or subjects of study are mentioned apart from the first three Vedas [1]. In the *Milindapañha*, the nineteen subjects of study called *satthas* (*śāstras*), including the four Vedas, are enumerated as: Suti (śruti), Sammuti (smṛti), Saṅkhyā (Sāṃkhya), Yogā (Yoga), Nīti (Nyāya), Visesikā (Vaiśeṣika), Gaṇikā (Arithmetic), Gandhabbā (Music), Tikicchā (Medicine), Cātubbedā (four Vedas), Purāṇā (Purāṇas), Itihāsa (Itihāsas),

[1] *Jātaka*, i, pp. 356, 463; ii, p. 243.

Jotisā (Astronomy—astrology), Māyā (Magic), Hetu (casuistry), Mantaṇā (Polity), Yuddhā (Military science), Chandasā [1] (Prosody), and Muddā [2] (conveyancing). The number is reducible to eighteen by taking the *Suti* to mean the four Vedas. The enumeration of the eighteen *sippas* is not to be found in the Jātakas. They do not also explain why the first three Vedas were excluded from the list. But there is every reason to believe that eighteen was the number fixed for the *sippas* or subjects of study, as also for the alphabets and the dialects other than the Indo-Aryan (desībhāsā, milakkhabhāsā). The enumerations, however, differed. The eighteen subjects were enumerated by the Brahmins as the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas, the four Upāṅgas, and the four Upavedas, namely, Āyurveda (science of medicine), Dhanurveda (military science), Gandharvaveda (science of music) and Arthaśāstra (science of polity [3]).

There are other enumerations of *sippas* (sciences and arts), *sippaṭṭhānas* or *sippāyatanas* (crafts or professional arts) where their total number is not mentioned and the list precludes the Vedas. We have two earlier enumerations

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[1] E. J. Thomas, *Buddhist Education in Pali and Sanskrit Schools* in *Buddhistic Studies*, ed. by B. C. Law, p. 225.

[2] *Milinda*, p. 3f.

[3] Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 202. n. 1.

in the Upaniṣads where, too, the total number of the branches of learning is not suggested. First, the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* enumerates them as: the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Atharvaṇa the fourth Veda, Itihāsa-purāṇa the fifth Veda, Pitrya (Domestic rituals), Rāśi (Arithmetic), Nidhi (science of wealth), Vākovākya (Method of reasoning), Ekāyana (Path of purity [1]), Devavidyā (Etymology, according to Śaṅkara), Brahmavidyā (=śikṣā, kalpa and chandas, according to Śaṅkara), Bhūtavidyā (Demonology, according to Śaṅkara), Ksatravidyā (Military science, according to Śaṅkara [2]), Nakṣatravidyā (Astronomy—astrology), Sarpavidyā (science of poisons), and Devayajanavidyā (Music and other fine arts, according to Śaṅkara [3]).

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* mentions the following subjects of study: Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Atharvāṅgirasas, Itihāsa (legends), Purāṇa (cosmogonies), Vidyā (knowledge), the Upaniṣads, Ślokas (verses), Sūtras (prose texts), Anuvyākhyānas (glosses), and Vyākhyānas (commentaries [4]).

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[1] Śaṅkara takes *Ekāyana* to mean *nīti* or ethics. But cf. Pali: Ekāyano ayaṃ bhikkhave maggo sattānaṃ visuddhiyā.

[2] According to the *Mahābodhi Jātaka*, *Khattavijjā* means the science of government.

[3] *Chāndogya Up.*, vii, 1.4.

[4] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, ii, 4.10; Keay, *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 23.

These enumerations with their later explanations and modern renderings are apt to be misleading unless we succeed in making a cosmos out of a chaos. The best way of reducing them to a system would be to assume that by the concensus of opinions the four Vedas formed the basic literary foundation of all branches of Indian learning in general and Brahmanical learning in particular. Of the four Vedas, the first three, namely, the *Ṛk*, *Yajur* and *Sāma*, were considered more authoritative and important from the sacerdotal, literary, religious, social and philosophical points of view. Of these three Vedas again, the most ancient and original was the collection of hymns called the Ṛgveda. The collection of select excerpts from among the Ṛgvedic hymns, modified phonetically to meet the requirements of musical chanting, gave rise to the Sāmaveda. Similarly, the excerpts from the Ṛgveda, modified and enlarged to suit the requirements of sacrificial rituals, gave rise to the Yajurveda. The growing Atharvāṅgirasa collection of hymns forming as it did the foundation of both science and sorcery, could alone vie with the Ṛgvedic collection in antiquity and originality. But it was not canonised as a Veda until it came to assign in it a rightful place to the Gṛhya hymns from the Ṛk, modifying the order of the verses so as to meet the requirements of the Gṛhya

rituals. The Atharvaveda seems to have been popularly believed as the Brahmanical scriptural source of all occult practices, witchcraft, exorcism, and the rest. The Āthabbaṇikas as designated in Pali were acquainted with them.

The Vedic hymns became otherwise known as mantas [1] (mantras) or significant words of mystic potency, when properly uttered or chanted and applied. The composition of the hymns and their compilations and explanations took place in different families of Ṛṣis, families in the sense of lines of agnates and cognates as well as lines of teachers and pupils, with their branches and sub-branches. Seven Ṛṣis enjoyed pre-eminence over the rest. In the early Pali tradition, the pre-eminence is accorded to ten Ṛṣis, namely, Aṭṭhaka (Aṣṭaka), Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Vessāmitta (Viśvāmitra), Yamataggi (Yamadagni), Aṅgirasa (Aṅgiras), Bhāradvāja, Vāseṭṭha (Vaśiṣṭha), Kassapa (Kāśyapa) and Bhagu (Bhṛgu). They are introduced as the ancient sages who were the composers and promulgators of the mantas (pubbakā isayo mantānaṃ kattāro mantānaṃ pavattāro). The Tevijja Brahmins of the Buddha's time chanted, recited and transmitted the mantapadas (mantra texts) in the same traditional manner in which these were chanted, expounded and collected

[1] Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

by their remote predecessors. It is clearly pointed out that none of the Vedic sages either knew or could point out the path of attainment to the world or state of Brahmā.[1]

Subsequently, during the early Brāhmaṇa period, arose certain schools of Brāhmaṇa teachers, such as, the Addhariyas, Tittirīyas, Chandokas, Chandāvas and Brahmacariyas (Bāvharijjas) who propounded in different ways the path of attainment to the state of Brahmā. It is pointed out that although these Brāhmaṇa schools of teachers propounded the paths, none of them actually realised the state of Brahmā or Brahman by means of jhāna or yoga practice [2].

The literary works produced by these Brāhmaṇa schools are nowhere mentioned. But it is well known that the works compiled or produced by them were known as Brāhmaṇas, e.g., Aitareya, Chāndogya, Taittirīya, some of which comprised three divisions: Brāhmaṇa proper, Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad, representing as they do three strata of mental growth. It is through the Brāhmaṇas proper that one can see the process of transition from the Vedas to the Itihāsa-Purāṇas, on the one hand, and to the Śrauta and Gṛhyasūtras on the other.

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[1] *Dīgha*, i, p. 238f.

[2] *Ibid.*, i, p. 237f.; Barua, *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, Introd., p. 4.

Similarly, it is through the Āraṇyaka books that one can visualise the process of transition from the philosophical hymns in the Ṛgveda to the Upaniṣads that had at last gained an independent foothold, in spite of their nominal connection with one or another of the four Vedas. The independence of the Upaniṣads as separate books of religious thought was due, as has been suggested, to the activity of the different schools of the Parivrājakas or wandering ascetics and sophists. The Upaniṣads, some of which are presupposed by the canonical Pali and Jaina texts, embodied the religious experiences and dogmas of these schools. The subject-matter of the Upaniṣads was Vedānta or Brahmavāda (doctrine of Brahmā or Brahman), which is well borne out by the evidence of the early Pali texts [1]. The word *Upanisā* or *Upaniṣat* was employed, precisely as in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, in the sense of path, instruction, command, exhortation [2].

The manner in which the Indian sophists of the age carried on philosophical controversies is historically important as indicating the first

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1 *Udāna*, i, p. 4; *Vinaya*, i, p. 3: Vedantagū . . . Brahmavādaṃ vadeyya, the real meaning of which is missed by the Pali scholiast.

2 Cf. *Dhammapada*, verse 75: aññā hi lābhūpanisā aññā nibbānagāminī. *Taitt. Up.*, i, 11.4: eṣa ādeśaḥ, eṣa upadeśaḥ, eṣā vedopaniṣat, etadanuśāsanam. *Vinaya*, v, p. 164: *etadatthā kathā, etadatthā mantanā, etadatthā upanisā.*

stage of the development of logic [1]. The second stage was reached in the Buddhist controversies embodied in the Kathāvatthu. Though the two stages were separated by at least three centuries, even the second stage was not advanced enough to serve as ground for the formulation of the Nyāya system of philosophy.

The Yoga as a form of religious practice, inseparably linked up with adhyātmavidyā (knowledge of the self), assumed some sort of a definite shape in the institutions of the Tāpasas, Paribbājakas and Samaṇas. The Yoga practice was developing on two different lines which became distinguished in later Indian nomenclature as Rājayoga [2] and Haṭhayoga [3]. On this two-fold basis was founded the Buddha's system of jhāna, samādhi and samāpatti [4], and it was on such a foundation that the Buddha and his followers developed a far-advanced system of psychological ethics, particularly in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. The early Pali texts mention two important schools of yoga, one founded by Āḷāra Kālāma and the other by Uddaka Rāmaputta, not far from Rājagaha. Both the schools claimed to be in possession of a higher knowledge (ñāṇavāda), based upon

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1 *Dīgha*, i, p. 8.
2 *Majjhima*, i, p. 163f.
3 *Ibid.*, i, p. 242f.
4 *Ibid.*, i, p. 294f.

direct religious experiences, and their founders were evidently Khattiyas by birth [1]. The hermitages of Mahāgovinda [2] and Sarabhaṅga [3] are mentioned as two great ancient centres of the yoga practice. The Sāṁkhya system of philosophy was just one of the forms of Adhyātmavidyā that remained formerly associated with the yoga practice [4]. The Sāṁkhya and Yoga as two separate systems of philosophy do not find mention in any Pali work which is earlier than the *Milindapañha* [5]. The Jaina texts in which they are mentioned, belong evidently to a much later stage of the *Āgama*.

We have seen that the Itihāsa was regarded in the Buddha's time as the fifth Veda, the Jaina *Aupapātika Sūtra* speaking of the Nighaṇṭu as the sixth Veda. According to the Upaniṣads, the fifth Veda was represented by the Itihāsa-Purāṇa. It would seem that in the Pali list, the Lokāyatam was allowed to take the place of the Purāṇa. By Itihāsa, the Pali scholiasts understood some legendary tales, and by Lokāyatam, the stories of creation and destruction of the world, the earth, water, etc. [6] In the later works of the Jaina *Āgama*,

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1 *Majjhima*, i, p. 163f.

2 *Dīgha*, ii, p. 239f.

3 *Jātaka*, v, p. 132f.

4 *Kaṭha-Up.*, ii, 6.17-18.

5 *Milinda*, p. 3.

6 *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 247.

the *Bhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* were allowed to occupy the place of the Itihāsa. Some of the Gṛhya-sūtras, as is well known, mention the *Bhārata* of Jaiminī and *Mahābhārata* of Vaiśampāyana. The Vaiśampāyana *Mahābhārata* is undoubtedly presupposed by Pāṇini [1] as well as the Pali canon. Similarly, an earlier form of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is presupposed by the Pali Vessantara Jātaka. The present Sautī versions of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* ascribed to Vālmīki appear to be later in date than the Pali canon.

The Brahmanical tradition shows that the fifth place among the Vedas was contested between the *Mahābhārata*, the *Arthaśāstra*, the *Āyurveda*, the *Kāmasūtra*, and the *Dhanurveda*. We have already discussed what light is thrown by the early texts of Jainism and Buddhism on the *Itihāsa* or *Mahābhārata*. As for the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, we have mention of it in such later works of the Jaina *Āgama* as the *Anuyogadvāra* and other sūtras. As the Jātakas and other Pali canonical texts clearly attest, the science of royal polity was developing under the name of *Rājadhamma* or principles of royal polity [2]. The Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas including the Sakyaputtiyas,

[1] Barua draws attention to *Pāṇini*, iv, 3.104 and vi, 2.38.

[2] *Kurudhamma*, *Ummadantī*, *Tesakuṇa*, *Mahāsutasoma* and *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātakas*.

contributed much to the development of this important branch of learning. In one of the oldest Pali fragments, we are given a list of topics that determined the scope of a work on royal polity. The list comprises the topics concerning the kings, the thieves, robbers, bandits and plunderers, the Mahāmattas or ministers and high officials, the army, dangers, wars, foodstuffs, drinks, clothes, beds, articles of luxury, friends and relations, conveyances, villages, towns, cities, countries, men, women, warriors, etc.[1]

The Pali Khattavijjā, mentioned in the Mahābodhi Jātaka, is the same term as Kṣatravidyā in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* which is taken in the sense of Dhanurveda, the science of archery or military science [2]. Those aspiring after the position of Senāpatis and other military ranks were required to study this branch of learning. The art of warfare, the forming of battle arrays, the mobilisation of forces, the methods of offence and defence, the training of the four divisions of the army, the stratagems, the principles of war and peace, the knowledge of handling of weapons of war, the maintenance of military discipline and control over the rank and file,

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1 *Cakkavattī-sīhanāda and Lakkhaṇa Suttas in the Dīgha Nikāya; Rājavagga in the Aṅguttara Nikāya.*

2 *Dīgha*, i, p. 9f.

etc., appear to have been the subjects of study under the same.

The canonical Pali texts throw abundant light on the development of *Tekicchā-sattha* or Āyurveda in the Buddha's time. This great science had developed and was developing on two different lines, namely, *Tekicchā* proper or Agadatantra and Śalyatantra or Surgery. In Pali, we have mention of *Sālākiyaṃ* or Ophthalmology and *Sallakattikaṃ* or general Surgery as two departments of the latter [1]. The Dārakatikicchā (Infant healing), Visavijjā (treatment of poison cases, poisoning due to snake-bites, scorpion-bites, rat-bites, or the action of various poisonous substances), and the like were special branches of the former [2]. The veterinary science was a side development of the Āyurveda. The knowledge of plants, minerals, and other organic and inorganic substances and their properties was found indispensable to the study of Āyurveda. The knowledge of anatomical details of the human body, the physiological functions, the composition of matter, the selection and preparation of drugs and their application were considered essential. The knowledge of the process of conception [3], and gradual development of the fœtus in the womb [4] and the

[1] *Dīgha*, i, p. 12.
[2] *Ibid.*, i, p. 9.
[3] *Majjhima*, i, p. 265f.
[4] *Mahāniddesa*, p. 120; *Milinda*, p. 40.

subsequent stages of development of the child after birth also came within the scope of study of Āyurveda [1]. The Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta in the *Majjhima Nikāya* leaves no room for doubt that for the anatomical knowledge of the body, dissection was not necessary. According to the local custom, the dead bodies were generally thrown away in charnel fields to undergo the natural process of decomposition or to be destroyed and devoured by carnivorous beasts and birds. In such charnel fields, the dead bodies could be found in various stages of disintegration. The Sutta itself bears ample evidence to the development of the knowledge of Anatomy. We should note that Gośāla, the leader of the Ājīvikas, founded his religion on the principles of Biology in the most comprehensive sense of the term, the elements of Botany, Zoology, Geology, Anatomy, Physiology and Embryology coming within its scope [2]. These elements were further developed by the Jainas in their *Āgama* [3].

The early Jaina and Buddhist texts shed sufficient light on the development of the Gandhabbaveda (science of music) and the science of eugenics and erotic. The science of

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[1] Note aṭṭhapurisabhūmis in *Dīgha*, i, p. 54; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 162f.

[2] *Dīgha*, i, p. 53f.; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 160f.

[3] *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*.

music was concerned with four main subjects, namely, dancing (*nacca*), singing (*gīta*), playing on instruments (*vādita*) and dramatic performances (*visūkadassanā*). In connection with *vādita* or instrumental music, we are supplied with a classified list of musical instruments, which is more or less the same as that given in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* [1]. The two main varieties of dramatic performances were represented by pekkhā (prekṣā) and sobha-nagarakaṃ.[2] With dancing, singing and instrumental music was associated also akkhānaṃ or ballad recitation [3]. The study of the physical and other characteristics of men and women [4] with a view to determining the sexual types to which they belong, and the training of the courtezans in music and other pleasing arts came within the scope of the science of eugenics and erotic [5]. It should be noted in this connection that Ghoṭamukha and Dīgha Kārāyaṇa, whose opinions are quoted in the *Kāmasūtra*, were both contemporaries of the Buddha [6]. The sublimation of the art of dancing and singing was attempted by some sects of the ascetics and recluses, particularly the Ājīvikas, whose canon

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1 For details, cf. Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 48f.

2 *Dīgha*, i, p. 6. 3 *Ibid.*, i, p. 6.

4 *Ibid.*, i, p. 9.

5 The science was known by the name of Vesiyaṃ. See *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra*, sec. 41; *Milinda*, p. 3.

6 *Majjhima*, ii, p. 157f.; p. 118f.; *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra*, sec. 41.

included two treatises, one on songs (Gītamārga) and the other on dances (Nṛtyamārga [1]).

We have a good deal of information, supplied by the early Jain and Buddhist texts about the development of vatthuvijjā (vāstuvidyā), or science of architecture. On the art side, it was known as vaḍḍhakisippa. The vatthuvijjā and vaḍḍhakisippa, understood in a comprehensive sense, included as subjects of study and training, the planning and founding of cities, towns and villages, the erection of buildings of various styles, palaces, council-halls, forts, gateways, decorative designs, selection and sanctification of sites, examination of soil, selection and preparation of building materials, laying out of parks, gardens and the rest. The architects were known as thapatis (sthapatis) or vaḍḍhakis. Carpentry, woodcarving, stone masonry, etc., were all connected with the art of building.[2]

Referring to the six Vedāṅgas, we have to note the development of ancient Indian learning on four different lines: Jyotiṣa (Astronomy and Astrology), Nirukta (Exegesis), Vyākaraṇa

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[1] Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, App. I, p. 249, n. 2.

[2] *Dīgha*, i, p. 9; *Majjhima*, i, 396; iii, 144; *Jātaka*, i, pp. 32, 201, 247; ii, 170; vi, pp. 332, 432; *Apadāna*, p. 51; *Milinda*, pp. 331, 345; *Aupapātika Sūtra*, sec. 107; Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 247, 281, 283, 328; Mrs. Rhys Davids in *Cambridge History*, i, p. 206.

(Grammar), and Chanda (Prosody). The early Jain and Buddhist texts bear ample testimony to the progress made in Jyotiṣa. This science was otherwise known as nakkhattavijjā or study of the lunar constellations, their positions, movements, cataclysms and effects. The Indians of the Buddha's time were familiar with the phenomena of solar and lunar eclipses, the names of the seven planets, the appearance and disappearance of the comets, the succession of three or six seasons. The experts in Jyotiṣa were required to make forecasts of all coming events, celestial or terrestrial [1].

The Vedic sense of *nirukta* may be shown to have been retained in the Pali *nirutti* which has been used in the sense of 'explanation of words, grammatical analysis, etymological interpretation, pronunciation, dialect, way of speaking, expression'. In a *Dhammapada* verse, a saint is expected to have been well acquainted with the sequence of letters as combined in words as well as the modes of expression (*niruttipadakovido* [2]). Yāska's standard work on *nirukta* contains the elements of *nirukta* proper and *nighaṇṭu*,—of word explanations and vocabulary. The vocabulary is presented in the form of different groups of synonyms (Pali *vevacanāni*). The Nirukta was compiled as a

[1] *Dīgha*, i, p. 10; *Aupapātika Sūtra*, secs. 36, 107.

[2] *Dhammapada*, verse 352.

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[1] *Dīgha*, i, p. 10; *Aupapātika Sūtra*, secs. 36, 107.

[2] *Dhammapada*, verse 352.

help to a correct understanding of the Vedas by a sound method of textual interpretation. It was on the model of such a work that the Buddhists came to compile two exegetical treatises called the *Nettipakaraṇa* and the *Peṭakopadesa* about the beginning of the Christian era. Within the Pali canon itself, we have at least two works, the *Cullaniddesa* and *Mahāniddesa*, that explain the words occurring in each of the two separate groups of sixteen archaic poems, namely, the Pārāyaṇavagga and Aṭṭhakavagga. The niryuktis of the Jaina *Āgama* may be regarded as works of this class.

The Vyākaraṇa or grammar was a very important development in Vedic literature. The grammatical system formulated by Pāṇini was one of the most notable achievements in the scientific literature of the world. It was up to Pāṇini's standard that all languages, Pali, Sanskrit, and Ardha-Māgadhī tended to conform. Unless it were for dealing with the deviations, more or less phonetic, from the Pāṇini's system, there would not have been any necessity for the compilation of a Pali or Ardha-Māgadhī grammar. Some of the explanations or definitions in the Pali Niddesa [1] clearly presuppose some of the rules of Pāṇini, while in the Pali commentaries of Buddhaghosa,

[1] E.g., *Cullaniddesa*, sec. 308: *Ye yesaṃ dakkhiṇeyyā te tesaṃ devatā* corresponding to Pāṇini sūtra *Sāsya devatā*.

Pāṇini's rules are freely cited in explaining the grammatical formation of words.[1]

The early Jain and Buddhist texts do not throw much light on the Vedic metres that are classified and defined in the works on the Chandas. In them, the metres used are found to be rather Laukika than Vedic. The Anuṣṭup and Triṣṭup are some of the popular metres that may be traced in some of the later Vedic hymns. The Āryā metres are seldom employed in the early Pali and Ardhamāgadhī gāthās. In several instances, the gāthās do not conform to any definite rules of versification.

With these various branches of Brahmanical learning in the background developed the literature of the Ājīvikas and the early texts of the Jains and Buddhists. The information about the Ājīvika literature is obtained from much later Jaina authority, and as such it must be received with caution. We are told that the Ājīvika literature consisted of eight Mahānimittas and two Mārgas. The titles of the eight Mahānimittas are given as Divyam, Autpātam, Āntarīkṣam, Bhaumam, Aṅgam, Svaram, Lakṣanam, and Vyañjanam. The two Mārgas, as noted before, were the Gītamārga and Nṛtyamārga[2]. Unfortunately, no details were supplied as to their subject-matters. If any

[1] Law, *A History of Pali Literature*, ii, p. 632f.

[2] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 249, n. 1.

inference is still possible to draw concerning their subject-matters, it must be from their titles only. The titles of the two Mārgas go to show that they were works on singing and dancing adopted by the Ājīvikas as two distinct modes of generating the highest religious emotion in the devotee. The titles of the eight Mahānimittas indicate that they were mostly works on Astronomy, Astrology, and the science of the Lakṣaṇas and Anuvyañjanas constituting the characteristic marks of Mahāpuruṣas as well as the means of testing and selecting the best type of men, women, elephants, horses, gems, jewels, and the like [1]. The knowledge of these matters was needed by them in rendering service to the masses who consulted them. But the Vivāhapaṇṇatti or Bhagavatīsūtra leads us to think that the literary tradition of the Ājīvikas had in its background the ten *Puvvas* that belonged to the religious sect founded by Pārśva, whose demise took place 250 years before the advent of Mahāvīra.

The ten *Puvvas* with the four new ones added to them formed a total of fourteen *Puvvas* that constituted the early Jaina scriptures. Thereafter the number began to dwindle with the gradual loss of them. It would seem that the loss of *Puvvas* was really due to the rise of

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[1] *Vide* Barua on Ājīvikas.

the Jaina Aṅgas, Upāṅgas and other works in which the materials from the *Puvvas* were either incorporated or utilised. The tradition, however, is that the materials from the *Puvvas* were mostly incorporated in the twelfth Aṅga called Dṛṣṭivāda of which nothing but a traditional table of contents now remains. The Jaina *Āgama* with the Aṅgas, Upāṅgas and other auxiliary works was closed at the Valabhī Council held in the middle of the 6th century A.D.

The early Buddhist literature which developed during the five centuries from the Buddhahood of Gotama, admits of a twofold distinction of Dhamma and Vinaya, Doctrine and Discipline, in so far as its subject-matters are concerned. The same twofold distinction is spoken of in Pali with reference to all the religious orders and schools of thought of the age. The early Pali texts are divided into three Piṭakas or Baskets, namely, the Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma, the third being a further textual and doctrinal development from the first. In between the Pali canon and the commentaries of Buddhaghosa were compiled two important Pali works, the *Netti-pakaraṇa* and *Milinda-pañha*, the former as a treatise on textual and exegetical methodology and the latter as a masterly popular presentation of issues and results of the earlier Buddhist controversies.

As for the rules of discipline that were applicable with minor variations to the Orders of wandering ascetics and recluses, they were embodied in the Bhikṣu or Śrāmaṇaka Sūtras that were utilised in the Brahmanical Law books of Bodhāyana, Āpastamba and others. *Pāṇini* (iv, 3.110), as already pointed out by scholars, refers to the Bhikṣu Sūtra of the Parāśarīya school. A fairly correct idea of the Vinaya of the Ājīvikas, Paribbājakas and Tāpasas might be gathered from their practices as described in the early Jain and Buddhist texts.

The Jaina *Kalpasūtra* appears to have preserved the Vinaya of the followers of Pārśva. The *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, which is one of the twelve Aṅgas, represents the earliest known Vinaya work of the Nirgantha sect of Śramaṇas. The Catuḥ Śaraṇa, Ācāradaśā, etc., may be mentioned as instances of the later works of the same class within the Jaina *Āgama*. The Upāsakadaśāṅga stands as the oldest known text of the Jaina Gṛhīvinaya.

The Pātimokkha with the seventy-five rules of etiquette was prescribed as a code of discipline for the Bhikkhus. The same code with certain modifications was prescribed also for the Bhikkhuṇīs. The Suttavibhaṅga which is nothing but an annotated redaction of the two Pātimokkhas may be judged as a masterpiece of criminal jurisprudence. The rules regarding the initia-

tion, ordination, uposatha, residence, dress, food, personal hygiene, internal concord of the Order and their amendments are systematically embodied in the *Vinaya Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga*. The *Parivārapāṭha* contains nothing but a canonical digest of the whole of the Vinaya discipline.

The Siṅgālovāda Sutta in the *Dīgha Nikāya* stands as a remarkable form of the Buddhist Gihivinaya. The Maṅgala Sutta is only a versified summary of the same. It is nothing but a Maṅgala Sutta which Aśoka promulgated in his empire through his Edicts, R.E. IX and XI in particular.

Within the range of the Dhamma, the early Buddhists were able to produce the nine Aṅgas (classes or types of literature): Sutta, Geyya, Veyyākaraṇa, Gāthā, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Jātaka, Abbhutadhamma, and Vedalla[1]. The *Vaṃsa* and *Apadāna* were the two other types that may be shown to have developed in connection with the *Jātaka*. The typical Suttas are the prose discourses of the Buddha, particularly those embodied in the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas*. The typical Geyyas are those Suttas in which the prose portion serves only as a frame-work for the verses, e.g., the Sagāthavagga in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*. The

[1] *Aṅguttara*, ii, pp. 103, 178; iii, pp. 177, 361.

typical Veyyākaraṇas are typified by the Abhidhamma books in which the Dhamma is analysed and expounded in a most prosaic or scientific form. The typical Gāthās are those poems or groups of stanzas that are not put in any prose frame-work, e.g., the gāthās in the *Dhammapada*, *Thera-Therīgāthā*, and some in the *Sutta-nipāta*. The Udānas are represented by those inspired utterances, generally in verse forms, which are the outcome of a direct religious experience.

The Itivuttaka class is represented by a book of quotations. The Jātakas are all Birth-stories of a Bodhisatta. The Abbhutadhammas are those Suttas in which the Buddha spoke of wonderful things. And the Vedallas are those Suttas in which questions are put by the interlocutor out of a profound desire to know [1]. The Vaṃsa type is represented by the chronicles in verse, historical or legendary. The Apadānas are just a variety of the Jātakas and Vaṃsas in which stress is laid on the effect of veneration and acts of merit.

The Suttas in the Nikāyas and Vinaya Texts which are mostly dialogues in prose have each a dramatic setting of its own [2]. In the Geyya class of Suttas, and even in some of the prose

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1 *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 24.

2 Law, *A History of Pali Literature*, ii, p. 644.

Suttas, the romantic element predominates [1]. The Suttas dealing with the abbhuta-acchariya-dhammas hardly deserve the name of a class. The Vedalla class is not represented by a separate compilation under the title. There are only two Suttas in the *Majjhima Nikāya* that expressly bear the title of Vedalla [2]. Among the Suttas in the first two Nikāyas, many are of the same philosophical standard and literary worth as Plato's Dialogues of Socrates. Through them, as well as the rest of the canonical texts, a literary idiom was developed, which came to be distinguished from the Singhalese language as Tanti-bhāṣā or Māgadhī. The same has been distinguished by Buddhaghosa also from the eighteen Milakkhabhāṣās: Andhaka, Damiḷa, Yavana, Kirāta, Oḍḍaka, Okkala, and the like. 'As regards the prose style, the grand models afforded by the Pali Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, the Jātakas and the *Milindapañha* stand unrivalled.' The style of the Veyyākaraṇas is throughout technical.

As for the Gāthās, we have a large veriety of them. Those in the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas* are austere in tone but forcible in expression. Those in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*

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[1] E.g., Devaputta-saṃyutta, Mārasaṃyutta, etc., in *Saṃyutta*, i; Gosiṅgasuttas in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, i.

[2] Viz., Cullavedalla and Mahāvedalla Suttas in *Majjhima*, i.

are nothing but mnemonics without any poetic value whatsoever.

The *Sutta-nipāta* is just a collection of diverse types of poems that vary in age and in style. To the most rigid and archaic type belong the few Octads in the Aṭṭhaka Book. The poems in the Pārāyaṇa Book, together with the Prologue, are characterised by the simplicity of narrative poetry. In the Prologue of the Nālaka-sutta of the third book, we have a highly interesting prototype of the Kāvya style developed later by Aśvaghoṣa and brought to perfection by Kālidāsa. The Khaggavisāṇa-sutta and the Muni-sutta figure as most thoughtful poems with a lyrical appeal, and the Ratana-sutta is a fine piece of eulogy in the garb of a lyric poem. For the best pieces of lyrics and best specimens of religious poetry one must turn to the Thera and the Therīgāthā, especially to the psalms of Aṅgulimāla, Vaṅgīsa and Tālapuṭa among the Theras, and to those of Mahāpajāpati Gotamī and Ambapālī among the Therīs. The music, rhythm, and pathos of the poems of Tālapuṭa and Ambapālī are incomparable. In the psalms of Subhā Jīva-kambavanikā, Isidāsī and Sumedhā,[1] we have a dramatic form of conversation, which is animated with sublime thoughts and wonderful self-assertion and self-expression. The Buddhist didactic poetry found its most elegant

[1] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 148, 156, 164f.

form and expression in the *Dhammapada*. The Jātakas as a vast store of the Buddhist narrative poems with a preponderately moralising tendency developed from the popular ballads that needed prose narrations to clear up their connections. The Sudhābhojana Jātaka may be judged as a striking example of a small drama, and the Vessantara story as a Buddhist counterpart of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Jātakas as prose narratives with the verses included in them are unparalleled in respect of their humour, wit, information, human interest and scope in the folk literature of the world. As purely descriptive poems with sublime ideas, the introductory verses of the Buddhavaṃsa and the first three poems of the Book of *Apadāna* may be the pride of all cultured races.

Such literary excellences, in prose as well as verse, were not attained in the books of the Jaina *Āgama*, in spite of the fact that this *Āgama* and the Pali canon had many phrases, many ideas and many texts in common between them. In the Jaina *Āgama*, the human interest is much less and the academic spirit more abundant than in Pali in the matter of presentation and treatment of subjects. The great importance of the *Āgama* lies, nevertheless, in the greater amount of interest evinced in such secular and scientific subjects as the study of matter, organic and inorganic, different forms

of life, astronomy, arithmetic, geography, drama, music, and the like. It contains the Gaṇivijjā which is a text-book of Arithmetic, the Caṃdapaṇṇatti and Sūrapaṇṇatti that are works on astronomy, and the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti* which is a work on geography. The *Anuyogadvāra* is a treatise on the Jaina system of education.

Through all these texts of the Jaina *Āgama* or Śvetāmbara canon one can easily trace the stages of development of another important literary idiom, which came to be known as Ardha Māgadhī, the adjective ardha admitting of a twofold explanation[1]. A similar idiom may be traced in the formulations of the doctrines of Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Ajitakesakambalī and Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, and this is clearly presupposed by Pali[2]. Modern researches have indeed tended to hold that an older form of Ardha Māgadhī gained ground till the time of Aśoka, and that it was from such a basis that Pali or Tantibhāsā developed afterwards as a highly standardised form of Prakrit, which is earlier in age than the Ardha Māgadhī of the Jaina canon[3]. As against this opinion, an

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[1] Pandit Lalchandra Bhagawandas Gandhi's Introd. to *Three Apabhraṃśa Works* of Jinadatta Sūri (Oriental Institute, Baroda).

[2] Law, *A History of Pali Literature*, i, Introd.

[3] Jacobi, Introd., *Ācārāṅga Sutta* (P.T.S. ed.).

attempt has recently been made to show with considerable reasons that the Vedic language, known as Chāndasa, followed two distinct lines of development, each having its many dialectical presuppositions and phonetic variations and both standardised, more or less, by the grammatical rules of Pāṇini [1]. Both the *Lalitavistara* and the Jaina *Nandi Sūtra* (§ 377-8) may be taken to have mentioned the Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhī and Puṣkarasārī as the three parent scripts of India. Though writing was known in India long before the rise of Jainism and Buddhism and it was practised as an art and an occupation, Rhys Davids has convincingly shown on internal evidence of the Pali canon that it was utilised as a means of recording literature at a much later date [2], i.e., about the beginning of the Christian era and not earlier. The evidence of the early Pali texts is conclusive that the whole of the Vedic literature was being handed down orally from teacher to teacher (ācariya-paramparāya piṭaka-sampadāya [3].) There are clear evidences, both literary and epigraphic, to prove that among the Buddhists there were certain schools of Bhāṇakas charged

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[1] Barua, Presidential Address, All-India Oriental Conference, 10th Session, Prakrit Section.

[2] *Buddhist India*, p. 165f.

[3] *Majjhima*, i, 520; *Aṅguttara*, i, p. 189.

with the responsible task of preserving by repetition and orally transmitting the texts [1].

The system of education of which the learning so far discussed was the result, was either academic or vocational or both. The purely Brahmanical education was theological or sectarian in the sense that it was adapted to the requirements of a particular religious order, and so was the system introduced by the Jains, Buddhists and other religious orders of the age.

It is stated in the Kaṭāhaka Jātaka that the son of a rich treasurer of Benares used to go to learn the alphabet and the son of a female slave born in the house accompanied him, carrying his wooden board meant apparently for the practice of writing. It would seem that the boy used to attend some sort of a primary school. But the story goes on to relate that he learnt also other arts, even the slave boy learning them as a result of accompanying him [2]. The learning of the alphabet was only the first step to the academic course. In the *Lalitavistara* we read that a qualified tutor was appointed to teach prince Siddhārtha the knowledge of numerals and various forms of writing (lipis [3]). This was done at the first stage. What was done subsequently we cannot

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1 Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 8-9.

2 *Jātaka*, i, p. 451.

3 *Lalitavistara*, p. 125.

say. In connection with the early education of Nāgasena, a Brahmin boy, we read in the *Milindapañha* that his father engaged a Brahmin tutor on payment of an honorarium of one thousand pieces of money to teach him the first three Vedas and the auxiliary branches of knowledge. Nāgasena after gaining proficiency in all these subjects could not quench his thirst for further knowledge. He joined the Buddhist Order with his father's consent and followed a different course of study and religious training [1].

Among the pastimes of the younger folk, we have mention of *Akkharikā* [2], a name which Buddhaghosa explains as meaning the game of 'Guessing at letters traced in the air, or on a playfellow's back'.[3] As might be inferred from the Pali *Kumāra-pañhaṃ*, an easy numerical method of making the beginners familiar with important things and their enumerations was usually followed: What is meant by 'One'? What are meant by 'two'? What are meant by 'three'? So on up to 'ten' [4]. The form of the questions was the same, but the answers to be given, differed according to requirements of the school or system. It may be noted that this numerical scheme was adopted by the

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[1] *Milinda*, p. 10.
[2] *Dīgha*, i, p. 7.
[3] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 86; *Buddhist India*, p. 108.
[4] *Khuddakapāṭha*, p. 2.

early Buddhists in compiling the Saṅgīti Suttanta [1], the Dasuttara Sutta [2], the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and *Puggala-paññatti.*

The Jātakas suggest the sixteenth year as the normal age of the Brāhmaṇa and Khattiya youths for study [3]. The same age is suggested also in the Hāthigumphā inscription in which we read that Khāravela, king overlord of Kaliṅga, spent the first fifteen years of his life in playful games and sports befitting the young age of a prince, and thereafter gained proficiency in all matters relating to writing, currency, counting, usages and approved maxims of conduct (lekha-rupa-gaṇanā-vavahāra-vidhi), and all branches of learning (sava-vijā).

Read, however, with reference to the context, the Jātakas must be taken to have mentioned the sixteenth year as the normal age of a boy for sending him up to Takkasilā for his education. 'As a rule, the time for the beginning of studies is given as the end of boyhood: "after he was grown up" (vayapatto).' [4] According

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1 *Dīgha,* iii, p. 207f.

2 *Ibid.,* iii, p. 272f.

3 *Jātaka,* ii, p. 277 (Tilamuṭṭhi J.); v, p. 127. According to the law books, the completion of the 16th year was the time for the ceremonial introduction of a Brahmin youth into the caste through the utterance of the Sāvitrī. *Manu,* ii, p. 36f.; Fick, *op. cit.,* p. 200, n. 1.

4 Fick, *op. cit.,* p. 199; R. K. Mookerjee, *Ancient Indian Education from the Jātakas* in Law, *Buddhistic Studies,* p. 236f.

to *Manu*, ii, 36f., the *Upanayana* or formal initiation into the doctrines and thus the beginning of the study could very well commence in the eighth, or even in the fifth year. In the Buddhist Order, too, a boy or girl under twenty, nay, even under ten was allowed to receive initiation into religious life as a novice (sāmaṇera), but to be ordained as a bhikkhu, the age limit insisted on was twenty. As for the earlier beginning of primary education and the subjects prescribed for it, the *Vinaya Mahāvagga* throws some light on the point. In it (i, 49. 1-2), we read that the parents of Upāli, a lad of Benares, discussed about the career of their son which would enable him to live happily and comfortably after their death. First they thought of learning the art of writing and rejected it on the ground that the profession of writing would make his fingers sore. Next they thought of arithmetic and rejected it on the ground that counting as a profession would weaken his heart. After that they thought of money-changing (rūpa) and rejected it on the ground that the profession would affect his eyesight. Lastly, they thought of seeing him ordained with the Sakyaputtiya samaṇas.

In some of the Jātakas, the parents are said to have given their son the option of either worshipping the fire (jātaggi) in the wood or studying. Fick has evidently missed the sense

of *jātaggi* [1] which is just the Pali word for the Sanskrit *jātaveda*. The option given was between going to an *assama* or hermitage of an *isi* for religious training and going to Takkasilā or some seat of learning for vocational education. This option is clearly implied in the discussion of the parents of Upāli above referred to.

Several Jātakas [2] refer to Takkasilā in the country of Gandhāra as an ancient seat of Brahmanical learning. The Brahmin youths, Khattiya princes, and sons of Seṭṭhis from Benares, Rājagaha, Kosala and other places were either sent or went themselves for the learning of the first three Vedas and eighteen sciences and arts. Jotipāla, son of the Purohita of the king of Benares, returned from Takkasilā with great proficiency in archery or military science, and was appointed afterwards commander-in-chief of Benares [3]. In the Buddha's time, Jīvaka went from Rājagaha to Takkasilā where he learnt the science of medicine under a far-famed teacher of the subject, and on his return to Rājagaha was appointed court physician by king Bimbisāra of Magadha [4]. Even prince Pasenadi is said to have had his education at Takkasilā [5].

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1 Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 199f.

2 *Jātaka*, i, pp. 431, 436, 505; ii, p. 52; iii, pp. 18, 171, 194, 228, 248; v, pp. 127, 177, 227.

3 *Ibid.*, v. p. 127f.

4 *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, viii, I. 3-6.

5 *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, i, pp. 337-338.

The journey to Takkasilā from such distant places as Benares, Rājagaha and Kosala was rather risky. So the safe return of a boy, as we are told in a Jātaka, after the completion of his education within the parents' lifetime was a matter of great joy to him.

It is difficult, however, to speak of Takkasilā as a university. None of the accounts that we now have, refers to Takkasilā as an organised institution. All that they bring out is the fact that the place was noted for separate schools, each under a far-famed savant or expert. So we read in the *Vinaya Mahāvagga* that Jīvaka on his arrival at the place approached a far-famed teacher of medicine for his permission to read the subject with him as a resident pupil. He studied the healing science for seven years under him, and yet he did not know when his course would have been completed. Jīvaka at last enquired of his teacher: 'When shall I see the end of this art'? 'Very well, my dear Jīvaka,' said his teacher, 'Take this spade, and seek round about Takkasilā a yojana on every side, and whatever (plant) you see which is not medicinal, bring it to me.' Jīvaka went round the place in search of that plant and returned to inform the great physician that he found no plant which was not medicinal. Satisfied with his reply, the physician said, 'You have done your learning, my dear Jīvaka; this

will do for acquiring your livelihood'. He bade good-bye to Jīvaka giving him a little money for his journey home [1].

It is evident also from the Citta-Sambhūta Jātaka [2] that the maintenance of a school depended on its head at Taxila as at other places. He had to depend for the maintenance of himself and his resident pupils on occasional invitations and contributions from the local people, and partly, as we are informed in other Jātakas, on the honoraria received from some of his pupils. The honorarium expected from a pupil with means to pay did not generally exceed one thousand pieces of money.

Benares was then as now equally an important centre of learning, although to the people of eastern countries distance lent enchantment to Takkasilā; it, too, was noted for schools under great experts. And in the Buddha's time, there were in Kosala and Aṅga-Magadha several Mahāsālās or Snātaka institutions maintained on royal fiefs granted by king Pasenadi and king Bimbisāra. According to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta, seven such colleges were founded by Mahāgovinda in seven main kingdoms of his time. These were all theological colleges granting admission only to the Brahmin youths

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1 *Vinaya Texts*, ii, p. 174f.

2 *Jātaka*, No. 498.

(māṇavakā). The numerical strength of such a college was no less than three hundred students. We are told that the high reputation of the head of the institution attracted students from various quarters and various localities (nānādisā nānā-janapadā māṇavakā āgacchanti [1]).

The subjects taught in them comprised the four Vedas, six Vedāṅgas, Itihāsa-Purānam, Mahāpurisalakkhaṇam and Lokāyatam. There is nothing to indicate that any student other than those who came of Brahmin families was admitted.

Side by side with these institutions there were the *Assamas* or Āraṇyaka schools founded and maintained by the distinguished *isis*. The Tittira Jātaka speaks of one such institution in which the Vedas were chanted and taught [2]. The Mūlapariyāya Jātaka speaks of another in which the resident pupils became once unruly and disrespectful to their teacher under the belief that they knew as much as their teacher [3]. The Sarabhaṅga, Mahāgovinda and other Jātakas mention institutions of this type where it was difficult to make accommodations for resident pupils. Bāvarī's hermitage on the Godāvarī was one of such institutions in the

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[1] *Dīgha*, i, p. 114.
[2] *Jātaka*, iii, p. 536f.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 260.

Buddha's time. The *assamas* of Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, situated between Rājagaha and Uruvelā, were noted for training in Yoga practices. The *assamas* of the three Jaṭila leaders in the three regions of the Gayākhetta, like other Brahmanical institutions, laid stress on performances of sacrifices, fire-worship and purificatory baths in the sacred rivers. The Sāriputtāpadāna gives a very charming description of the ideally situated *assama* institution of an *isi*.

Each of the religious orders of the Brāhmaṇa Paribbājakas was a travelling school of thought. To them we owe a new kind of institutions called Ārāmas or Vihāras. Each institution enforced the rules of conduct and discipline suited to its own idea of morality and religious ideal. The furtherance of the cause of truth and knowledge in all branches of learning by open discussions was the remarkable feature of their educational and cultural activities. As distinguished from the *Assamas*, the Ārāma institutions depended wholly on public charities, their founders and adherents having nothing to call their own.

The religious orders of the Samaṇas of which the founders were Brāhmaṇas or Khattiyas were in almost all respects the same as those of the Brahmaṇa Paribbājakas. The difference between the two lay, first, in the fact that the

Samaṇas freely admitted into their orders men and women from all social grades, and secondly, in the fact that in varying degrees, their attitude towards the existing social and religious institutions was one of disapproval. The democratisation of learning, the evangelisation of truths, the social and moral uplift of men and women, the development of the living languages, etc., were the special tasks to which they devoted themselves.

Among the popular teachers of piety and morality, mention may be respectfully made of the ballad-reciters and *kavis* (improvisers of verses). Through them the profound truths of philosophies permeated even the lowest stratum of society. But there was a class of Brahmin teachers called Nakha (better, Makha) Pāṣaṇḍa-brāhmaṇas who roamed about in the country instructing the masses in the laws of Karma by means of pictures of happy life in heavens and miserable life in hells that were labelled with appropriate inscriptions [1]. These Caraṇa or Paṭa Citras having been carved in stone, gave rise to the ancient sculptures utilised by the Buddhists, Jains and others for the purposes of popular education and improvement of fine arts [2]. For the purposes of popular education,

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[1] *Sāratthappakāsinī*, ii, p. 327 on *Saṃyutta*, iii, p. 151f.

[2] Barua, *Barhut*, iii, p. 85.

the Buddhists of the age developed amongst them an institution of *Dhammakathikas*[1] or popular preachers who dwelt generally upon the three topics of *dāna* (piety), *sīla* (morality) and *sagga* (heavenly reward for meritorious deeds). Their preachings were enlivened by similes drawn from everyday life and charming anecdotes. Mahāmoggallāna and Kumāra Kassapa occupied foremost ranks among such preachers. The way to this was shown indeed by the Buddha himself[2]. The Jainas, too, made provision for such preachings and compiled for the purpose a special text known as *Ṇāyadhammakahā*.

Besides these colleges and religious institutions there were to be found the technical schools. There was, for instance, a school of archery at Kapilavastu where the Śākya youths were taught the military science[3]. There was also a technical school of the Śākyas, which, according to Buddhaghosa, was 'a long terraced mansion', built in a mango-grove[4]. The *Sutta-nipāta* commentary speaks of an ancient institution of carpenters and wood-carvers at Benares, which was maintained by its head on the income from the execution

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1 Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 20.

2 N. Dutt, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism*, p. 208f.

3 Watters, ii, p. 13.

4 *Dial. B.*, S.B.B., iv, p. 111.

of local orders[1]. Even private craftsmen[2] and professional men[3] are said to have *antevāsis*, resident pupils or apprentices, under them.

As for the Jaina system of education, the *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* clearly states that it was so devised as to equip the learner with proficiency in the laukika or general knowledge as well as proficiency in the lokottara or special knowledge, the knowledge of the Jaina doctrines[4]. To achieve the first end, the Jaina system included in its syllabus the study of grammar, arithmetic, astronomy, geography, science of music, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, dramas, and the like. And to achieve the second end, it provided the learner with Adhyayanas or Lectures, Praśna-vyākaraṇas or typical questions and answers, expositions, manuals and digests. Each learner, precisely as in Buddhism, was required to have an upādhyāya to initiate him into the Order and ācāryas, one or more, to teach him the texts.

The Buddhist system was in many respects the same as the Jaina. This, too, was intended to make the learner proficient in matters lokiya and in matters lokuttara. The motto of both consisted in sammā-daṃsaṇa or sammādiṭṭhi

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1 *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 575f.

2 Such as potters and carpenters.

3 Such as goghātakas or butchers.

4 *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*, sec. 18f.

(right direction of mind,) sammā-cāritta (right conduct) and sammā-ñāṇa (right knowledge). To equip the learner with proficiency in matters lokiya, the system prescribed the study of the Jātakas and cognate works. And to equip him with proficiency in matters lokuttara, it provided him with the numerical groupings of the doctrines, groupings of kindred sayings, exegeses, catechisms (pañhapucchakaṃ), manuals and digests. Admission to the order of mendicants was at first open to all persons irrespective of caste, creed, sex, physical fitness, and the like. But subsequently, under changed conditions, certain disqualifications had to be introduced to keep out the undesirable persons and as a safeguard against physical and moral deterioration [1]. The system of expulsion, too, had to be adopted for the very same purpose [2]. Elaborate rules were laid down in the light of experience to specify the duties of the upājjhāya and saddhivihārika towards each other [3]. Similarly, rules were framed for specifying the mutual duties of the ācariya and the antevāsika. It was prescribed: 'The ācariya ought to consider the antevāsika as a son; the antevāsika ought to consider the ācariya as a father. Thus these two, united by mutual reverence,

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[1] *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, i, pp. 60–71, *Vinaya Texts*, i, p. 215f.
[2] *Ibid.*, i, p. 60f.; *Vinaya Texts*, i, p. 215f.
[3] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 25–30.

confidence, and communion of life, will progress, advance and reach a high stage in this doctrine and discipline[1].' This point was elaborated later in the *Milindapañha* which came to enunciate twenty-five qualities of a teacher (pañcavīsati ācariyaguṇā[2]).

Lastly, the *Buddhāpadāna* vividly portrays the picture of the *Buddhakhetta* as an ideally situated place of learning in the midst of peaceful natural surroundings—of an eternal school where of the Buddhas and their disciples, every one is a teacher and every one a pupil, all engaged either in asking questions or answering them and thereby helping each other in the elucidation of the points of the doctrine (*Apadāna*, i).

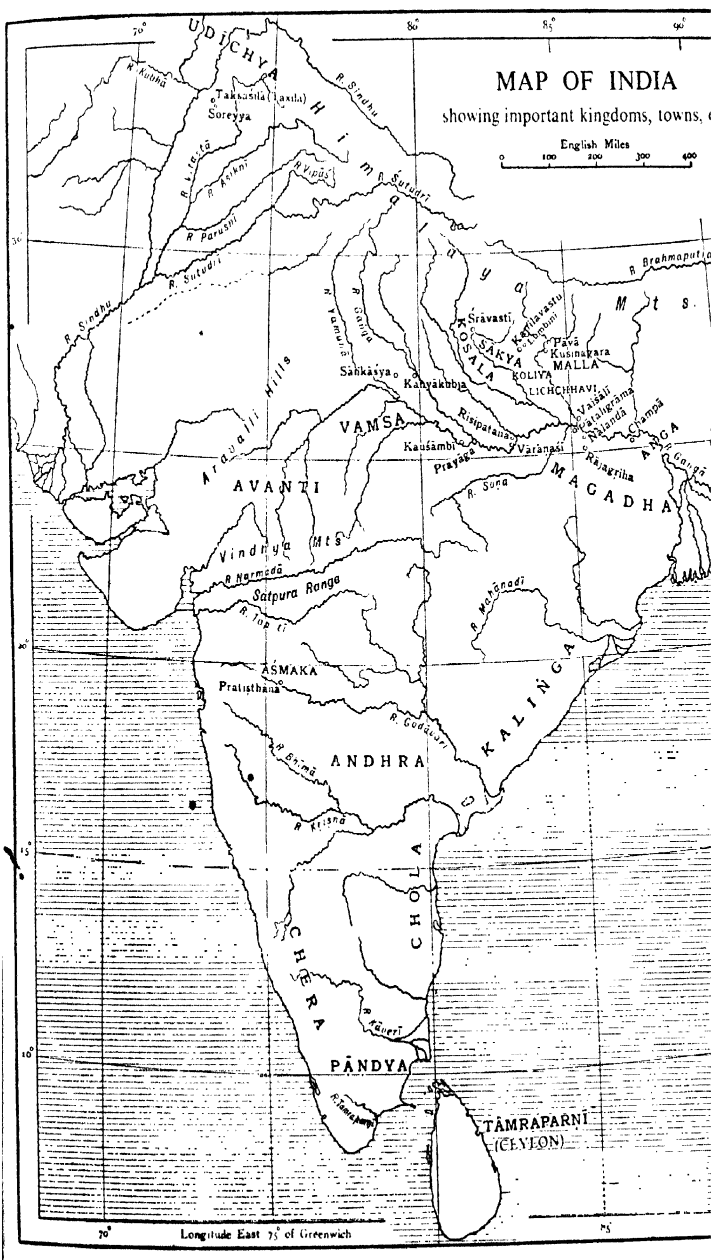
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1 *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, i, pp. 32-33; *Vinaya Texts*, i, p. 179f.

2 *Milinda*, p. 94.

INDEX

Published by Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, and printed by G. E. Bingham, Baptist Mission Press, 41A Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.


MAP OF INDIA
showing important kingdoms, towns,
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400
UDICHYA
HIMALAYA Mts.
Takṣaśilā (Taxila)
Soreyya
R. Sindhu
R. Kubhā
R. Vitastā
R. Asikni
R. Vipāś
R. Paruṣṇī
R. Sutudri
R. Brahmaputra
R. Yamunā
R. Gaṅgā
Śrāvastī
Kapilavastu
Lumbini
KOSALA
SAKYA
Pāvā
Kusinagara
MALLA
KOLIYA
LICHCHHAVI
Vaiśālī
Pātaligrāma
Nālandā
Champā
ANGA
Sankāsya
Kanyākubja
Aravalli Hills
VAMSA
Risipatana
Kauśāmbī
Prayāga
Vārāṇasī
Rājagriha
MAGADHA
R. Soṇa
AVANTI
Vindhya Mts
R. Narmadā
Satpura Range
R. Tapti
R. Mahānadī
ASMAKA
Pratiṣṭhāna
R. Godāvarī
KALINGA
R. Bhīmā
ANDHRA
R. Kṛṣṇā
CHOLA
CHERA
R. Kāverī
PĀNDYA
R. Tāmraparṇī
TĀMRAPARṆĪ
(CEYLON)
Longitude East 75° of Greenwich